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Four Several

# TRACTS

Of the Reverend

Mr John Kettlewell,

Late

# MINISTER

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*Colebill in Warwickshire.*

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# A DISCOURSE

Explaining the  
**Nature of Edification.**

BOTH OF  
Particular Persons in Private Graces,  
AND OF  
The Church in Unity and Peace.

And shewiug  
That we must not break Unity and Publick Peace,  
for supposed Means of better Edifying  
in Private Virtues.

IN A  
VISITATION SERMON  
At *COVENTRY*, May 7. 1684.

BY  
*JOHN KETTLEWELL*  
Vicar of *Coles-Hill* in *Warwickshire*.

L O N D O N,  
Printed for *Robert Kettlewell* at the *Hand and Scepter*  
over against *St. Dunstons Church* in *Fleetstreet*.  
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# THE PREFACE.

**E** *Edification, as applied to the whole Body, is in Scripture-Notion the Uniting of the Church; but now by a very unhappy, tho' a very common Mistake, it is made the great Pretence for Dividing it. For that wherein our Dissenting Brethren hope to shelter themselves in forsaking us, is their Edifying more in Separate Congregations. This is thought a Good Answer to all Laws requiring Communion with the Parish-Churches; for no Law, they think, can hinder them from Edifying, and saving their own Souls: and a sufficient Reason for their rejecting of any Imposed Pastors; which they fancy are not to be appointed by the Will of the Patron, or the Prescription of the Church, but by every Mans own Choice, because no other is so much concerned for his Edification, as he himself is. To remove this Cause of Separation, some Worthy\* Persons have taken very Pious and Profitable Pains, in shewing how unjust the Charge of an Unedifying Ministry is upon our Church, and how partial they are in ascribing more Edification to their Meetings. And if our Brethren will peruse what they have said with impartial Minds, and see this, as they may if they will lay aside all Prejudice, there will be no need of saying any more to satisfy them in this Business. But if after all they will be Judges themselves where they Edify most, and in their Judgment prefer their own Ministers: yet still there is enough to withhold them from Separation on this account, because they are to edify and build up the Church of God as well as themselves,*

\* See a Discourse of Profiting by Sermons: and another Of Edification.

## The Preface.

*themselves, and must not break the Publick Unity and Peace to carry on their own Profiting in Private Graces. And therefore, referring them to the forementioned Discourse (whose Principal Design I think that is) to convince them that their Assemblies are not more, and ours less Edifying: in that part of this Sermon which concerns this Case, I have applied my self more expressly to those who shall still be unconvinced, and think they are: and shewn them, that supposing, what indeed is otherwise, that among them Particular Men have better Means of Edification, yet will not the search of that warrant them to divide the Church, and betake themselves to Separation.*

*And as it will not justify the People in Hearing: so, which is the only thing I shall add further, much less will it justify their Ministers in Preaching in a Separate Meeting. For the Preachers are not less, but more obliged than the People are, to edifie the Church of God in the first place. And whatever Necessity they may think lies upon them to Preach the Gospel, in Places where there are no other Preachers: yet where there are, (and our Brethren will not deny there are store of Sound, and Profitable ones among us,) the Care of Edifying the whole Church ought surely to restrain them from breaking Unity by Preaching, and from drawing Men off from hearing us, only in Hopes they may Profit more by joyning with themselves. The Duty, and the Desire, (as of reaping greater Profit themselves, so) of ministering to the greater Profit of any other Particular Christians, must stop, as this Discourse shews, in Peaceable ways. And therefore till our Brethren can Conform, and preserve Unity under their Preaching; they ought to be silent, as the Old Peaceable Nonconformists were, and quietly suffer the People to be taught by others; and not exercise their Ministry out of any Hopes of doing more Good with it to their Particular Hearers, when thereby they must cast off the Authority of their Lawful Superiors, and make a Rent and Division in the Church.*

I COR.



## I COR. XIV. 12.

—*Seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the Church.*

**T**His Rule is here laid down in the Case of *Extraordinary and Miraculous Gifts*, such as *Propheſie* or *Inſpired Preaching*, *Tongues*, *Miracles*, and the like, which the *Corinthians* zealouſly coveted, to amuſe Beholders, and get themſelves a Name, more than to Do Good with them to others, and Edifie their Brethren. But it is equally applicable to all *Ordinary Gifts*, and *Natural or Acquired Endowments*, as prompt and penetrating Wit, clear Underſtanding, ſound Judgment, Prudence in Conduct, Fluent and Elegant Speech, and the like : for God's Deſign is the ſame in both ; he entruſts us with them, not to feed Vanity, and only ſeek Praise to our ſelves, but to Profit and Edifie our Neighbours. And as it holds in all ſorts, either of *Natural*, or *Miraculous Gifts* ; ſo alſo in all *Places* and *Offices*, which make room for the Exerciſe and Employment of them. For as Edification is here made the End of all Gifts and Abilities ; ſo is it elſewhere of all Offices and Dignities in the Church. God gave ſome, *Apoſtles* : and ſome, *Prophets* : and ſome, *Evangelists* : and ſome, *Paſtors and Teachers* ; for the *Perfecting of the Saints*, and the *Edifying of the Body of Chriſt*, Eph. 4. 11, 12. So that *Edification* is the Great End of all thoſe Gifts wherewith God endows Men, and of all thoſe Stations and Capacities whereto he calls them to ſhew their Gifts in. It is the main thing, which all are to ſeek and propoſe to themſelves in all opportunities, either of doing, or receiving Good. Forasmuch as ye are zealous of *Spiritual Gifts*, *ſeek that ye may excel to the edifying of the Church.*

In Diſcourſing upon theſe Words, I ſhall,  
 Firſt, *Explain the Nature of Edification, and ſhew what Improvements it implies.*

Secondly, *Preſs it as the Great Point whereat they are to aim, on all ſides of Chriſtians.*

B

Firſt,



First, I shall explain the Nature of Edification, and shew what Improvements it implies. And this well deserves to be distinctly and clearly stated, both for its own sake, because God has made it the Prime End whereto all Mens Parts and Opportunities are to be directed; and also for the Churches, because the lamentable Divisions, that have so long prey'd upon the Vitals of Religion, and the Bowels of this Church, are in great part owing to Mens Mistakes about it. For one of the Commonest, and, I think, of the most Specious Pretences our Dissenting Brethren give for their leaving our Parish-Churches, is that they Edifie and Profit more in their Private Meetings. If this Pretence were true, it seems very plausible. For St. Paul directs all Men to make Edification their Aim in these things, and it seems to argue a great Goodness, and a great Wisdom; and so to be most commendable in any Man, to desire to be better'd by all the Prayers he uses, and every Sermon which he hears. And whether it be true or no, they think they are fittest to judge, and that no other Persons are so able to tell them what Prayers and Sermons they are most benefited by, as from their own Experience they are able to tell themselves. And therefore, fancying it is for their greater growth in Grace and Edification, they take heart, and think no Good Man, who knows how bad he is at best, and is careful to grow as good as he can, will blame them for it, to break the Unity of the Church, and joy themselves to Separate Congregations. Whereas, were they truly inform'd in the Scripture-Notion of Edification, they would see clearly that there can be no Pretence of Edifying in a Schism, and that supposing in some Respects, they could edifie more, as they say, by their own Preachers, yet would not that authorize them to make a Rent in the Church, and separate from us.

Edification in Scripture-sense is the same as Benefiting or Profiting. A Neighbour, as St. Paul notes, is Edified, when he is pleased to be Good, Rom. 15. 2: and strange Tongues, he says, do not edifie the Church, because they do not profit it. 1 Cor. 14. 5, 6. So that by our being Edified in Religion, is meant our Profiting and advancing in it; when we attain, either some Particulars which before we wanted, or more Strength and Firmness in those we have already. The Reason why this Benefiting in Religion is call'd Edifying, is because both every Private Christian, and the Whole Church, is compared in Scripture to a Building.

Sometimes Particular Christians are called the Temple of God. Know ye not, says St. Paul, that your Body is the Temple of the Holy

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*Ghost? which is spoken of Particular Persons. 1 Cor. 6. 19: and again, What agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? 2 Cor. 6. 16. The Temple of God, i. e. a believing Husband; with Idols, i. e. with an unbelieving Wife who worships Idols, that being plainly the Case there treated of v. 14, 15.*

And at other times, which is the most general use, the *Whole Church* or *Community of Christians* is styled so. The Church is called the \* *House of God*, — *in the House of God*, saith the Apostle, *which is the Church*. 1 Tim. 3. 15. 'Tis call'd his *Temple* — *Ye are the Temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in or † among you*, as it did in the Temple among the Jews. 1 Cor. 3. 16: and his *Building* — *Ye, i. e. the Church of Corinth, are God's Building*; 1 Cor. 3. 9; and the *Church of Jews and Gentiles* mention'd Eph. 2. 19, is call'd the *Building* *fully framed, that grows into an holy Temple in the Lord, builded for an Habitation of God thro the Spirit*. v. 20, 21, 22.

And this Application of it to both these, is well noted by Theophylact. \* *The Temple of God, says he, is a Title given in common, both to the Church or Collection of all the Faithful, and to every Private Christian.* And because in Scripture-Language, both the Whole Church, and Particular Christians, are thus call'd God's Building; pursuant to that Metaphor, the adding and laying together those Excellencies that are to integrate either the Whole Body or any Good Man, or the giving Strength and Firmness to them, is call'd Edification.

Now in explaining this Profiting and Spiritual Edification, I shall shew

1. *Wherein lies the Edification of Particular Men and Private Christians; and that is in any Growth or Improvement, either in Faith, or Manners.*
2. *Wherein lies the Edification of the Whole Church; and that is mainly in the settled Peace and Union of its Members.*
3. *That this latter is to be prefer'd, and must give Laws and Limitations to all Means of promoting the former: So that no Man must ever seek to edifie in Schism, or break the Peace of a confessedly Sound and Lawful Church, upon pretence that he can edifie more in Separate Meetings.*

1. I shall shew wherein lies the Edification of Particular Men and Private Christians; and that is in any Growth or Improvement, either in Faith, or Manners. This Benefiting of Particular Men, is one sort of Edification the Scripture speaks of. He that prophesies,

faith St. Paul, *speaketh unto men to edification, i. e. to the benefit of every one that hears him. 1 Cor. 14. 3. Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, i. e. to improve your Brethren as you converse with them. Eph. 4. 29. And let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification, i. e. to profit him in Religion. Rom. 15. 2.* In these, and other Places, the Edification spoken of is that of Particular Men and Private Christians, when they are any ways furthered and assisted in those Things, which may please God, and save their Souls.

Now Religion consisting of *two Great Parts, Faith, and Obedience*; the Spiritual Profiting and Edification of every Man, must consist in his being any ways assisted, encouraged, or improved in either of these Duties. So that then every Person is edified, when his Life and Practice is any thing amended, or his Knowledge of Religious Matters is more clear and perfect, or his Belief of them more firm and settled, or his Affections for them more fervent, or his holy Resolutions and the Religious bent of his Heart more unalterably establish'd, or his Conscience more freed from Doubts, or fuller of Comfort and Joy in God, than it was before.

1. The chief Instance of any Particular Mans Edification, and that which, indeed, is the End of all the rest, is *when his Life and Practice is any thing amended.* And thus 'tis, when he is more Devout and resign'd to God, more Just and Charitable to all Men, more Humble, Temperate, and Mortified to this World, or improved in any other Parts of Good Life and Conversation. When he gains more Virtues, or gets a greater Degree of Constancy and Firmness in them, having fewer Escapes, and standing in harder Trials, and doing his Duty with more delight and easiness, than he was wont to do. This Amendment of Life is one way of Edifying. For St. Paul says of *Church-Censures*, whose End is Reformation of Manners, that they are *given for edification*, 2 Cor. 13. 10; and of *vain Questions and Disputes*, which make none the better Livers, that they do *not minister to godly edifying*, i. e. to Edification in Godliness. 1 Tim. 1. 4. Yea, it is the principal point, and the main thing in Edification. For the Religion of a Good Life is that which, thro the Merits and Grace of Christ, must save us all at last, and which God will \*look at in the Day of Judgment. It is the very End and Accomplishment of Faith and Knowledge, for *by Works*, as St. James saith, *Faith is made perfect. Jam. 2. 22.* It is the Casting Point, and the One thing necessary in

\* Rev. 22. 13.

in Religion; so that when Men seek to edifie in Religion, they must seek above all to be better'd and improved in Holy Living.

And when they seek to be edified in an Holy Life, that must not only be in some Parts and Virtues, but in the whole Compass and Extent of it. With Zeal for God, they must joyn Charity to their Neighbours, yea, even to their Enemies, and Men of most opposite Opinions. With a serious owning of Religion, Sobriety, and Temperance, they must joyn a Peaceable Temper, and Submission to their Governours. And with Obedience to the Higher Powers, and the Decency and Heartiness of Devotions, they must joyn all the Duties of Morality, of a sober and just Practice. This I note, because the World is generally prone to measure their Edifying in Religion, by their Edifying only in some Particulars: nay, alas! many times by their Edifying only in the Beloved Notes of a Party, whilst they are altogether barren and unprofitable, in the Broad Lines, and Great Instances of Morality. When a loose and debauch'd Man, for instance, shews himself a Favourer of the Dissenters, and espouses their Schism; how ready are several among them, and perhaps he himself is not the last in believing them, to cry him up for a Saint, and a Precious Person? And again, if a licentious wicked Liver shew a Zeal for the Churches Service, and for Submission to the King, (which are things as truly Good, as the other by mistake are supposed to be) how apt are others to overlook all his Vices, and, as if these were not only some, but all Virtues, to set him up for a Right Good Man. When any thing Men count a Part of Religion is opposed, and they are put more concernedly to espouse and contend for it; because others unworthily sleight it, they fall oft-times too much to magnify, and place all Religion in it, and judge themselves or others to be Religious from it alone, whilst in other things they are irreligiously Wicked. They magnify on all hands the things where- in they oppose each others, and make them the chief Notes of Virtue, and of the Religion of Persons. So that the Religion of a Good Life is too often drown'd in the Particular Notes and Virtues of a Party, and so long as a Man is true to their Side, he passes for a Good Man, whether in the wide Compass of other Duties he be true or false to Almighty God.

But these Particular and Partial Notes are not the Standard of Edification, nor the way to measure our Improvement in Religion by. If we take any one particular Grace and Virtue, it is but one thing, not all Religion, and so is but one Part, not the Whole of



of Edification. All the Duties of Good Life are equally Parts of Christianity, and all necessary to our Salvation: and therefore as it is, and ought to be our Duty and Aim, to explain, and press; so is it the Duty, and ought to be the Aim and Care of all our People, to learn and practice, and then they must judge themselves to edifie rightly, when they profit and improve in all of them.

2. A second Instance of Particular Mens Edification, is when their *Knowledge of Religious Matters is more clear and perfect, or their Faith and Belief of them is more firmly settled.* And thus the *Apostle* tells us, that *Prophecie or Preaching* edifies, because it instructs and convinces Mens Understandings, and so improves Faith and Knowledge. *He that prophesies, says he, speaks unto men to edification,* 1 Cor. 14. 3; he edifies those that hear him, because they are taught, and convinced by him. v. 19. 24. Whereas, on the contrary, *strange Tongues*, he says, are very *unedifying*, because *no man understands them.* v. 2. 4.

And thus again a Man is edified in Religion, when he is in ways improved in Light and Conviction, when he more clearly and fully understands the Doctrines and Duties of it, or is more undoubtedly persuaded of them. And this Improvement in Belief and Knowledge, he must not measure so much by the *Number*, as by the *Weight and Usefulness* of Particulars. It is no Edification at all, or next to none, to load our Understandings with an heap of nice, curious, and unprofitable things; to lose our selves in searching into Mysteries; to hunt after Conjectures, and scan doubtful Questions, about Angels, and the State of Separate Souls, and the Time of the Worlds ending, and Gods Secret Will and Decrees, which are not necessary for us to know, and which perhaps no Man will be able to decide till God determine them. These things make us no better, nor holier. For nice Disputes, and curious Conjectures, and airy Notions, never strike down a Lust, or correct a Sin: they are light things that swim at top, and float only in the Brain, but never sink down into the Heart, or reform the Life of any Man. And since our Heart and Life is not made better by them, they are very unedifying. For the End of all Faith and Knowledge, is to guide, and improve Good Life and Practice, so that then we truly edifie in our Understandings, when we learn things of weight and use, that are like to affect our Hearts, and direct, stir up, and help us on in the Course of a Godly Conversation. And thus it is, when we are instructed in the Great Articles of our Creed, about Almighty God, and Jesus Christ, and the

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Future Judgment, &c. and fully persuaded of them: When we are enlightned in all the Points of *Practice*, discerning plainly what is the Nature of all Particular Duties, and what is implied in them, and what Means are like to help us most in attaining of them, and what are the most powerful Motives and Encouragements to quicken our Care and Endeavours after them. When we are clearly informed in the Nature of Repentance, and in the Readiness of God's Spirit and Grace to help on all our Good Endeavours, and in any other things, whereon either our Growth in Grace, or Peace of Conscience depends, and which are either necessary Parts, or helpful Means, or prevalent Motives to Obedience. Our Minds, I say, are best edified, when they are stored with such useful things.

Especially, which is the only thing I will add further, if they have an *usefull knowledge* of them; i. e. if they know them by *Plain and Clear Accounts*, and not under a Dress of *obscure Phrases*, and *Allegorical Descriptions*. For some Christians, especially among our Separating Brethren, think they are much edified in Spiritual knowledge, when they have learn'd to talk much about *Christ*, or *Grace*, or the *Spirit*, or *Faith*, or *Regeneration*, or other most important Points, in dark Phrases, and far-fetch'd, and, very oft, improper Metaphors, and affected Allegories, which are very unfit for Definitions of things, and are not a way to improve and Clear, but Darken Knowledge. And when men are improved only in such mysterious Speeches, which, though they may excite some good Affection, yet, I presume, can give no clear Apprehensions to their own minds, since they are very puzzling when others, even the wisest, come to examine them: I think they cannot give them a Claim to any extraordinary Edification. For many fine Figures, and pretty Allegories may be used in setting off a thing, and yet there shall not be much knowledge in them. They amuse the mind with pleasing Ideas, and strike the fancy with lucky hints whilst they are recited; but they give us no just Apprehension of the thing, and upon examination, a man shall find himself little the wiser, or more able to explain it unto others, after he has heard them.

3. A *Third Instance* of Particular mens Edification, is when their *Affections for Religious matters are made more Fervent*, or their *holy Purposes are more unalterably fix'd and established*. This exercise and increase of Religious Affection, and Godly Resolution, is another way of edifying. And so St. Paul says of him that *speaks in the Church in an unknown Tongue*, that he *edifies himself*, i. e. in De-

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vout Prayers and Affections, (for such Enthusiasms were ordinarily express'd in *Prayer and Praise* — *he that speaks in an unknown tongue, speaks not unto men, but unto God.* v. 2. 1 Cor. 14. 4. *And profitable communication, which ministers Grace,* i.e. a Gracious bent of Heart and Good Affection, *to the Hearers,* he says *is good to the use of edifying.* Eph. 4. 29. And their *comforting or exhorting themselves together* to be Firm and Resolute in the Faith of *Christ*, amidst all the Dangers and Persecutions which then environed it, he tells the *Thessalonians* is the way to *edify one another.* 1 Thes. 5. 11.

Good Resolution is the very Strength and Vigor of the Soul, which prepares it for Tryals; putting it upon all the Pains, and enabling it to conquer all the Difficulties in Religion. So that then we are mightily confirm'd in any Graces, when we are more resolute, and bent upon them. Especially, if this Resolution be not a rash Act, made hastily in some Religious heat, but the Effect of serious and due Consideration: as it is, when we foresee the Pains, and Self-denials we are to undergo in any Duties; but yet, being fully convinced of the perfect Reasonableness, the absolute Necessity, and the incomparable Advantage of them, we absolutely resolve upon them notwithstanding.

And Fervor of Desire and Devout Affection, will enable us more chearfully, and strongly to resolve upon any Good thing. It will make us careful and intent to please God, and ready to deny our selves for his sake, and give us not only Ease, but Pleasure and Delight in well-doing; it being natural for Men to be inwardly satisfied when they have what is desired, and take delight in things, when once they have an affection for them. So that then also we are furthered and edified in any Graces, when we are stirr'd up to a greater quickness in devout Affections, and find in our selves more ardent Desires, and a higher Passion for them. Especially, if these Affections were kindled in us, not only by pleasing Similitudes, and pretty Sayings, or solemn Looks, or melting Tones, or the Preacher's Passion and Vehemence; but by the Weight and awakening Force of the Reasons and Things themselves, which touch'd our Hearts, either when they came from him, or afterwards when we reflect and dwell upon them in our own Meditations. If we are put into a Religious Heat and good Affection, only by Voice, and Vehemence, and the Shew and Solemnities of Action: that, indeed, is something if a Wise Man have the government of it, who will apply it to the embettering of his Life, and fix and fortifie his holy Resolution whilst

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that Religious Heat is upon him. Tho, I confess, if he stops in the Affection, and doth not take advantage thereby to be thus resolv'd; he is much more pleas'd than profit'd with it, and gains not much of Edification. But when the Conviction of our Understandings goes along with this Agitation of our Fancies in the affecting of our Hearts, and we are struck by considering the Greatness of the Motives, and the Weight of the Things: then we have such an holy Affection, as is much more strong and lasting, and more apt to edifie us. When only Voice and Vehemence begot the Affection in us, a very small time will wear it off, as they wear out of our Fancies, which they will quickly do of themselves, or thro' our Fancy's being diverted and taken up with other things. But when the Weight of Things and Arguments affected us: those are embodied into our Minds and Judgments, and so are like to stay with us; and also mightily startle and convince our Consciences, and so are like to have great power over us. These Convictions are both *Potent*, and *Durable* things, which greatly affect us for the present, and stick by us to affect us equally when we reflect upon them at any time afterwards.

4. A *Fourth* Instance of Particular Mens Edification, is when their Consciences are more freed from Doubts, and Scruples, and are fuller of Comfort and Joy in God, than they were before. And thus the weak Brother's being confirm'd in Conscience (tho that was in a wrong case) and emboldned, St. Paul calls his being edified. If any see thee, who hast knowledge, sit at meat in the Idols Temple; shall not the Conscience of him that is weak, i. e. scruples it, be emboldned (the word is \*edified, i. e. made to lay aside his Doubts and fears by the Authority of thy Example) and eat also? 1 Cor. 8. 10. οὐκ ἐδωκεν

Vexatious Scruples and distrustful Fears, are the Pain and Sicknesses, the Swoonings and Faintings of a Religious Soul. They are a heavy Burden to it, putting it into great Uneasiness, Horror, and Disquietude : and also a great hindrance ; for by disheartning they beget a Feebleness and break its Strength, they keep its Thoughts and Intention employ'd mainly upon themselves, which are things that do not profit, and detain them from making a progress in those which are truly good. And since Doubts and Despondencies are so truly a Disease and Unhappiness to our Spirits, and so great a Discouragement and Stop to all Religious Service and Improvements ; it must needs

be an high part of Edification to be clearly resolved about Practical Cases, and to have Peace of Mind upon safe Grounds, and well-satisfied Consciences. So that then our Souls are much edified, when our Doubts are clear'd, and our Consciences truly resolv'd and comforted. And thus it is, when they are loaded with a just sense of necessary things, and freed from the vexation of needless Scruples; when they are better satisfied, either about their *Duty*, being resolved whether some Doubtful Cases are either allowed or forbid by some Laws; or about the *Safety of their State*, being satisfied upon good Grounds of God's Favour and Acceptance, which will give them Peace and Joy in God, and comfortable Expectations.

And thus we see wherein lies the Edification of *Particular Men* and *Private Christians*, viz. in *any Confirmation or Improvement, either of Faith or Manners*. So that then a Private Person may know himself to be edified, when he gathers strength, and improves in the practice of any, or of all Virtues; when he thrives in plain, and clear Understanding and Belief, especially of weighty and useful Things; when he is more fervent in Godly Affections, chiefly if they are accompanied with Convictions of Reason, and rais'd by powerful Arguments; when he is more unalterably fixed in virtuous, and holy Resolutions; more satisfied in Practical Cases, and Doubts of Conscience; or more comforted with Joy in God, and the Hopes of Eternal Happiness.

I proceed now

2. To shew wherein lies the Edification of the *Whole Church*, and that is mainly in the settled Peace and Union of its Members.

Edification in the Scriptures doth Principally, and most commonly refer to the *whole Church*. For it, as I have noted, is most usually styled, and most properly resembled to a Building, since it contains in it such a Number of Particulars, which, as so many *live Stones*; as St. Peter says, *are built into this Spiritual House*. 1. Pet. 2. 5. And this Edification of the Church or Body of Christians, is spoken of by St. Paul in the Text—*Seek that ye may excel in the edifying of the Church*: and so again to the *Ephesians*—*Christ gave Apostles and Prophets, &c. for the perfecting of the Saints, and for the edifying of the Body of Christ*. Eph. 4. 11, 12.

Now this edifying of the *whole Church*, lies mainly in the settled

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*Peace and Union of its Members; and the Great instrument of that is Love, which makes us look, not altogether at our own things, but at the things of others.*

1. *The edification of the whole Church, I say, lies mainly in the settled Peace and Union of its Members.* The Church indeed is edified in the edification of its particular Members, when they grow in Faith and Manners; because it is not barely a *Body of Men*, but a *Body of Men professing Faith and Holiness*, so that then it is perfected and improved, when they grow in these Virtues. And so those Gifts which were most instructing, and most apt to improve Knowledge and Good Life, as *Prophecy*; are said here to be more for the edification of the Church, than other Gifts less instructing, as *Tongues*. But the edification Peculiar to it as it is *one Body*, and a *Church*, is the *Peace and Union of its Members*. For Peace and Unity edifies and builds up, as Separation and Division dissolves and plucks asunder all Societies. The laying together and cementing Wood and Stones builds up, as the dividing and scattering them abroad pulls down a House; and so do Unity, or Division, build up, or destroy all Communities. *A House, or City divided against it self*, says our Saviour, *shall not stand; and every Kingdom divided against it self is brought to desolation.* Mat. 12. 25. So that the edification of the Church, which consists of such a vast number of Members, is the keeping and establishing them in Unity and Peace, and nothing is more opposite to edifying, than Schisms and Divisions. St. Jude opposes *Edification* to *Separation*. *These be they, who separate themselves—but, contrary to that, Ye Beloved, building up your selves on your most Holy Faith, &c.* intimating, that to edify or build up, they must forbear to Separate. Jude v. 19. 20. St. Luke says the Churches were edified, when they ceased to be Persecuted and Dispersed, and were suffered to be settled and united. Then, says he, *had the Churches rest, throughout all Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified.* Acts 9. 31. where by *Edified*, I think we may well understand their being settled in Peace, and established; not only, because their *Rest* is given as the reason of it, to intimate that then they were edified when they were no longer scattered; but also because the *increase in Grace and Spiritual Comfort* (the other meaning of Edification) is mentioned besides and added to it—*were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* v. 31.



And St. Paul says the Church edifies it self, not only when by the supply of all the Parts there is an *increase in Goodness*, but when moreover it preserves *Unity*, and the *Whole Body is compacted* by what every part supplies: So that Edification must imply *Unity and Compactness* in the Body, as well as other instances of *Personal and Private Virtue*. From Christ, says he, *the whole Body fitly joyned together, and compacted by that which every joint supplies, makes increase of the Body unto the edifying of it self.* Eph. 4. 16.

Thus in the *Scripture Notion* doth the Edification of the Church consist in the *Unity, Peace, and Compactness* of its Members. And this St. Paul plainly teaches, when he exhorts to *Follow after the things which make for Peace*, because it is with them we must *edifie one another*. Rom. 14. 19. And when he ascribes Edification to *Charity*, that Great Bond of Peace and Union--'tis *Charity*, says he, *that Edifies*, 1 Cor. 8. 1. And thus Theophilact

† πάντα ἡ οἰκοδομὴ, ταῖς πάντες οἱ πρὸς συναρμολογούμενοι καὶ ἐνέμενοι. Theoph. in Eph. 2. v. 22.

\* ἡ γνώσις βλάπτει φυσικοῦ καὶ ὁγκοῦ τὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπερίεστα αὐτὴν τὰ πλῆθὺς μέλη, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἔχη μετ' ἑαυτῶν, ὥστε ἀγάπη τοῦναντίον οἰκοδομεῖν δυνάται. Theoph. in 1 Cor. 8. 1.

well explains the *Scripture Notion*. † *The Building*, says he, *that is, all the Faithful compacted and united into one Body*: So that in his Sense the Church is then Built up, when it is compacted and united. And again, \* *Knowledge without Charity puffs up and swells, and by that means divides from other Members, and makes a Schism: Whereas, on the contrary, Charity edifies (opposing Edification to Separation) i. e. maintains Union.*

2. And *The great instrument of this Peace and Union is Love, which makes us look, not altogether at our own Things, but at the Things of others*. If Men seek only themselves, and will use nothing but what seems best to their own Fancies, and works most upon their own Humours and Affections, it is not possible there should be Peace and Unity in any Church. For there is almost as great a diversity in Fancies and Affections, especially about lesser matters, as there is in Faces; and it is never to be expected, that, in such cases, all Men should like and approve of the same things, more than that all Palates should be pleas'd with the same Meats and Sauces. So that whilst every Man will please himself, and gratifie his own Humour, there is not like to be any Union and Edification of the Church. But that which works this Peace and Union, must be Love of others.

The

hen by The Body increases, saith St. Paul, by the supply from every Part, to the edifying of it self in Love. Eph. 4. 16. And whereas Knowledge puffs up, and cares not though we lose others; Charity, says he, edifies, i. e. preserves Peace in the Church, and keeps together all its Members. 1 Cor. 8. 1. † The Members of Christ, saith St. Austin, are coupled to each other by the Charity of Union, it being Love which unites them; and by the same Charity they cohere to Christ their head too. 'Tis Love that is the Publick-spirited Virtue, which, as the Apostle says, seeks not her own, 1 Cor. 13. 5; and carries us to deny our selves out of care and kindness for our Brethren. And this care of others is the only thing, which can maintain Unity, and prevent Schism. The Members must have the same care one of another, saith St. Paul, that there be no Schism in the Body. 1 Cor. 12. 25.

And thus also it appears wherein lies the Edification of the whole Church, namely, in the settled Peace and Unity of all its Members. For the Church, being a Spiritual House, is edified and built up by Unity and Peace, but plucked down and broke to pieces by Divisions and Separations. And this Peace and Unity is not to be had whilst we all seek to please our selves, but only by Love, which is a self-denying Virtue, and the care of others.

And thus having explained both the Edification of particular Men in Faith and Manners, and of the whole Church in the settled Peace and Unity of all its Members: I proceed in the

3. And last Place, to shew that this latter is to be preferr'd, and must give Laws and Limitations to all means of promoting the former: So that no man must ever seek to edifie in Schism, or break the Peace of a confessedly sound and Lawful, much less of an excellent and very edifying Church, upon Pretence that he can edifie more in separate Meetings.

The latter of these, I say, is to be preferr'd, and must give Laws to all means of promoting the former, and particular Mens using any ways, or seeking any helps to edifie in particular Graces, must always be in subordination to the Unity and Edification of the Church.

As for all the Duties of Christianity, they are bound to them absolutely, and no care of maintaining Peace and Unity must ever draw them to forego them. So that when any Sins are required

†. Unde utique manifestum est, eum, qui non est in membris Christi, Christianam salutem habere non posse. Membra vero Christi per unitatis charitatem sibi copulantur, & per eandem capitis suo coherent, quod est Christus Jesus. Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cont. Ep. Petil. Donat. c. 2.



quired in any Church as the Conditions of Communion, as *A*  
*doration of the Host, Worship of Images, and Profession of false A*  
*rticles* are in the Church of Rome, though thereby they break the  
 Peace and Unity of that particular Church, yet must every pri-  
 vate Christian stand out, and not comply with them. For such  
 Peace with that particular Church upon such corrupt terms  
 were nothing less than entering into a Conspiracy, both against  
 the Universal Church which disclaims these Corruptions, and  
 against Jesus Christ the Head of it, seeing it is upon Condition  
 expressly forbid by his Laws.

But when all these Doctrines and Duties of Christianity are  
 left free, nay, openly taught and pressed on all men, which  
 Truth is, and our Brethren confess to be our Case: then, as for  
*all the helps and outward opportunities of improving them, as what*  
*Prayers they shall use, and what Sermons they shall hear, and such*  
 like; these must give way to publick ends, and be subordinate  
 to the Churches edification. To use the best Prayers, and hear  
 the best Sermons, and be under the most edifying Helps, are ver-  
 ry desirable things indeed; and he is very careless of his own  
 Soul, who, when he wants them, doth not seek them if they  
 may be had; and unthankful to Almighty God, if he doth not  
 prize and value them when he is placed under them. But when  
 we desire, and, in all Peaceable ways, endeavour to have  
 good as we can; we must at the same time be content to take  
 with such as we may have, and not separate and divide the  
 Church to find better. We may be sensible of the want, and of  
 our great unhappiness under a less edifying means in any Church  
 when that is truly the Case (though, God be thanked, however  
 our Brethren mistake it, it is not so with us) and both wish  
 and fairly endeavour to remove the unhappiness. But when we  
 are sensible of them, and wish they were removed, we must not  
 fall into Schism to remove them, nor break the Peace and Uni-  
 ty of the Church for better means of private edification.

To evince this, I observe,

1. *If a Man breaks Unity and publick Peace for better means*  
*private Profiting, he cannot be said so much as to improve in private*  
*Edification.*

If we allow all Men to reject the established means, which  
 stand by publick Wisdom, and to chuse any which they fancy  
 better at their own Discretion; they will not be likely to chuse  
 - such

such as are really more edifying. I know 'tis Natural for Men to think well of themselves, and that, unless they are wise, they will be apt to fancy he undervalues them, who would beget in them an humble Opinion of their own Judgments. But in truth the generality of Men are unmeet, and ill Judges in these things; so that to set them free from the publick means, and bid them chuse better for themselves, is not the way to put them under such as are more profitable for them. For some would still be changing for *varieties* sake, not to have a *more useful*, but a *New Man*: it being the Property of itching Ears, as well as of wanton Appetites, to be cloy'd with the best Entertainments when they are held to them, and never to like of any thing long. And others would think to edifie *more*, by those which really are *less* edifying. They would too often chuse to themselves a Pastor, either from his Gesture and Actions, the cadence of his Voice, his Zeal and Vehemence; or from his abounding in affecting Phrases, and taking Similitudes; or from his Preaching pleasing things, and insisting most on their beloved Opinions: and for their sakes reject others, who treat of more useful and weighty matters, and lay out the great Points of Religion in all plainness, and speak more to Mens Consciences, whose Discourses, though less pleasing, perhaps, to some Fancies, are yet I am sure the more profitable Sermons. The greatest number of Hearers are observed to be very injudicious in their choice and applause of Teachers, and to prefer those who can do them less good, before such as are really fitted to do more.

This is observed by men of the best esteem among our Brethren, as well as by others amongst us. And 'tis no wonder it should be so observable of other Hearers, when the *Apostle* tell us the very same of the *Corinthians* in his own case. He was qualified, sure, in all respects, as one of the most Powerful and Edifying Teachers, and the *Corinthians* had known him well enough to see it, and believe so of him. But yet, such Judges were several among them, of edifying Preaching, as to prefer others before him, and desire rather to be under their Ministry than his, which put him upon speaking so much in his own Praise, as he doth 2 *Cor. c. 11.* and *c. 12.* So that, if all Men were

+ It grieves my very Soul to think, what pitiful, raw, and ignorant kind of Preaching is crowded most after in many places, for the mere affectionate manner of expression, and loudness of the Preachers voice. How oft have I known the ablest Preachers undervalued, and an ignorant man by Crowds applauded, when I that have been acquainted with the Preacher ab incunabulis, have known him to be unable to answer most Questions in the common Catechism? Mr. Baxter Cure of Ch. Drif. p 215.  
set

And again--The worlds experience puts it past doubt, that the generality of the Vulgar, Unlearned and Injudicious sort of men, do value a man by his Tone and Voice, more than for the Judgment and excellency of his matter, if not put off by such Advantage. *Id. Defence of Cæsar Ch. Divis. p. 108, 109. Also Hilderish. Lect. 58. on Jo. 4. p. 270.*

set loose from the means appointed by publick Wisdom, and were left to chuse better for themselves; since the generality are such unfit Judges in this case, they would not ordinarily chuse such means, as would more profit them.

But if they were all so wise, as to fix on proper means, and, when they reject the established helps, chuse such instead of them as really are more edifying; yet if they break the publick Peace to come at them, they cannot account themselves

to improve in private Edification. If a Man breaks Peace to improve in Knowledge, he loses more than he gets; for in Christianity Love is better than Learning, and a peaceable Temper in the Eyes of God of higher Price, than a skillful Understanding. *Covet earnestly the best Gifts* (among which *Prophecie* and *Knowledge* must have † Preference) *and yet shew I unto you a more excellent way to be coveted beyond all of them, viz. the way of Charity*, which he begins there to treat of. *1 Cor. 12. 31.* If he dissolves Unity and incurs Schism, to profit better in some other Duties of a Christian; he takes a very mistaken course, since Love and Unity are most especially recommended, and are the very chief of them. *If it be possible, and as much as lies in you, live peaceably with all men.* *Rom. 12. 18.* *Above all things, my Brethren, put on Charity, which is the very bond of perfectness, i. e. most perfect in it self, and that which perfects all other Virtues.* *Col. 3. 14.* *And above all things have fervent Charity among your selves, for Charity shall cover the multitude of sins, i. e. it shall stand you in more stead at the Great day, than any other Duties.* *1 Pet. 4. 8.* *And now abideth Faith, Hope, and Charity, these three, all Chief and Cardinal Graces, but the greatest of these is Charity.* *1 Cor. 13. 13.* Thus are Love, and Peace, and Unity, the very top of Christian Duties, and the most edifying things in all private Persons; so that they are first to be secured, and must not be parted with in hopes thereby to improve in any others.

Nay, without them we cannot edifie in any others to any purpose. For if we throw aside Charity, which *seeks not her own*, but has a care of other Men, *v. 5.* (and that care of others, as he declared † just before, will keep out *Schism*) the greatest Proficiency in Knowledge, or other Virtues, is unprofitable and

useless.

† 1 Cor. 14. 1.  
5.

† 1 Cor. 12. v. 25.

public. We have no profit at all by *Knowledge*, or other accom-  
 or them. lishments of our Understandings. *Tho I have the gift of Pro-*  
 h un- phesy, and understand all Mysteries, and have all Knowledge, and  
 dinarily be Tongues of Men and Angels, and Faith to remove Mountains, if  
 em. after all I have no Charity; it profits me nothing. 1 Cor. 13. 1, 2.  
 proper Nay, we have no profit by the bravest Actions, but even the best  
 d helps. and costliest things we do, (a sad Case, God knows) are thrown  
 re more away, and will not avail to save us. *Tho I am Heroically liberal*  
 k Peace in Alms, and, leaving my self naked, bestow all my Goods to feed  
 emselve the Poor; yea, *tho I die for Religion, and give my Body to be burned*  
 e to im- a Martyr; yet, *if I have not Charity, it profits me nothing.* v. 3. So  
 ristian- true was that Observation of the Primitive Christians, that wil-  
 er in the ful Schism, that consummate Breach of Charity and Union, is  
 standing the same among other Virtues, that the Dead Fly is among the  
 knowledge Costliest Oyntments; it will mar all that a man doth, and is  
 e excel- not to be expiated by any thing, no not by Mar-  
 way of tyrdom. \* Schismaticks, says St. Cyprian, *tho they*  
 31. *are slain for confessing Christ, yet is the stain of Schism*  
 some o- so deep, their very Blood cannot wash it out. *It is an*  
 e, since inexpiable Crime, from which a man cannot be purged,  
 are the though he dies for Christ. — Let him give himself  
 in you, to fry in the Flames, or be tore in pieces by Wild  
 ny Bre- Beasts; that shall not crown his Faith with Victory,  
 s, i. e. but pass only for the Punishment of his Treachery.  
 virtues. — He may be slaughter'd, but he shall not be Crown'd.  
 ng your — For he cannot be one of Christs Martyrs, who is  
 t shall not one of the Churches Members.

Duties. Thus are Charity, Peace and Unity, the most excellent, and  
 e three, edifying things in every private Christian; nay, of that necessi-  
 Char- ty, that no other Gifts or Graces, not the deepest Knowledge,  
 , the or the noblest Alms, nor Martyrdom it self, are of any use, or  
 ngs in ble to profit us without them. So that when to edifie in other  
 , and Duties, Men transgress them, they give away more than they  
 n any get, and are not so truly advanced forward as set back, and so  
 cannot pretend to go on in Private Edification.

to any But besides that they are thus really made worse as Private  
 not her Christians, I observe,

others, 2. That if they were as much improved, as really they are  
 eatest hundred, yet would it by no means be lawful for them to make a  
 e and Schism, and break the Peace and Unity of the Church to be better edi-  
 fied:

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\* Tales etiamsi occisi in confes-  
 one nominis fuerint, macula ista  
 nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpia-  
 bilis & Gravis culpa Discordia,  
 nec Passione purgatur. — Arda-  
 ant licet flammis & ignibus tra-  
 dide, vel objecti Bestiis animas  
 suas ponant; non erit illa fidei  
 corona, sed Pœna Perfidia, &c.  
 — Cecidi talis potest, corona-  
 ri non potest. — Esse Martyr  
 non potest, qui in Ecclesia non est.  
 Cyp. de Unit. Eccles. p. 113,  
 114. Ed. Ox.



fed: For though it be well, that Men should seek to edifie and profit themselves in particular Virtues, and do this with care, seeking after the best means; yet at the same time it is equally true also, that in so doing they must secure the Peace and Edification of the whole Church. They must not be so zealous for any means of better edifying and profiting themselves, as for its sake to make a Rent in the Church, and create Publick Disturbance.

And this may appear from these Reasons.

1. Because it is against the Fundamental Law of all Societies, which is, That no Man shall seek his own Private Profit and Enrichment, by the Publick Loss and Dissettlement. And particularly, 'tis against the Laws Christ has made for the Peace and Preservation of his Church, who engages his Members to forego their own Private Profit for the Publick Peace and Benefit, more than any others.

2. This breaking Unity to redress and supply less edifying Means in the Church, is like Sedition in the State for Redress of Civil Distresses and Grievances, and Subject to a like Condemnation.

3. 'Tis against the End even of the best Helps and Means of Edification, which is to establish Peace and keep out Schism, and so are utterly perverted when they are made the Ground of Separation.

4. When the Corinthians broke the Unity of the Church on this Ground, the Apostle charg'd the great Sin of Schism upon them.

5. If this Pretence would acquit from Schism, there can be no such thing as Unity in the Church, nor any stop to Separation.

1. I say, thus to break Unity and Publick Peace, only that we may have better means to edifie and profit our selves in private virtues, is against the Fundamental Law of all Societies, which is, That no Man shall seek his own private profit and enrichment, at the publick loss and dissettlement.

The Publick Interest in all reason deserves to be more regarded than any Mans Private Benefit. For it is infinitely of greater weight, and contains more in it: So that if any private profit may claim to be pursued, the publick much more, where every single Mans share weighs as much as that, and has the value of all the rest added to it. And the subsistence of a society and good order requires it should be so prefer'd, since otherwise it would evermore be some Mans turn, for his own particular profits sake, to break it. And when any Men embroil'd, and combine in Societies, by so doing they all virtually in

edifice and with care, is equally and Edifice, zealous for es, as for publick Dis-  
 gage, and profess to do it. And in all Communities he really is, and is generally held an ill Man, who doth otherwise. He is a bad Member in a Family, that will please himself in some unmeet or unseasonable delight, to the disturbance of the whole Household. And he is an ill Man in any Neighbourhood, and a bad Subject in any Country, who will seek his own private gain and emolument, tho it be at the general loss, and when the Publick suffers by it. It is ill in any Member, for some private end, to bring any Detriment to the Publick; but especially to make Seditions, and break the Peace and Unity, which is the Ligation by which it stands, for that is the Civil Death and Dissolution of it.

But as this is against the Fundamental Law of all Communities; so particularly against the Laws Christ has made for the Peace and Preservation of his Church, who obliges his Members to forgoe their own Private Profit for Publick Peace and Benefit, more than any others. He puts us in mind, that we stand in his Church, not as independent individuals, who have only our own gain to look to, but as Parts and Members.—God has made us the Body of Christ, says St. Paul, and Members in particular, 1 Cor. 12. 27. And being Fellow-members, he would have that beget in us a general care of all that are the same Body with us, making us sensible, not only of our own, but of others wants, and ready to denie our selves, or forgoe our own pleasure or profit, for their advantage. If one Member suffer, all the Members suffer with it; or if one be honoured, saith he, all the rest rejoyce with it, v. 26. And the Members should have the same care one of another, v. 25. and let no Man seek his own, but every Man anothers wealth, 1 Cor. 10. 24. And this looking beyond our selves, and having a mutual care of others, will keep us from all Schisms, and dividing the Church for our particular satisfaction or advantage. When the Members have the same care one of another, there will be no Schism in the Body, v. 25. Among all the Duties he has enjoined, he lays greatest weight, as I have observed, on those which make for Love and Peace, so that they must be secured in the first place: they are set as the Ruling Virtues, which must give Laws; which utterly excludes all Plea of breaking them, upon pretence of Greater Profiting in any others: In Religious Matters, says the Apostle, let us follow after the things which make for Peace, and things whereby one may edifie another.



another. Rom. 14. 19. *Above all things, says he again, put on Charity, which is the Bond of Perfectness: i. e. which by binding us together perfects us, for all other Graces are imperfect, as I before noted, without Unity and Peace, and it must be added to them to gain acceptance. Col. 3. 14. And let the Peace of God rule in your Hearts, whereto you are also called in one Body: i. e. of all others Peace must give Laws, and be the Ruling Virtue, because it secures that which is the greatest Profit, and most to be aim'd at in all Societies, viz. Unity. v. 15.*

Thus are Men in all Societies, and the Members of Christ's Church more than any, obliged to be most tender of Publick Benefit and Peace, and to deny themselves in any Private Interests and Advantages, rather than in pursuit of them, to break Unity and work Publick Disturbance. When they are Members of Publick Bodies they must have Publick Spirits, and not seek their own Benefit against the Benefit of the Community. So that if any man seeks only to please himself, and to carry on his own Profit and Satisfaction, he can only be Good then, when there is none in the World besides himself, and he lives alone, but is an ill man, and an awkward mis-form'd Member in all Society and Communion.

2. *This breaking Unity to redress and supply less edifying Means in the Church, is like Sedition in the State for redress of Civil Defects and Grievances, and subject to a like Condemnation.*

What Sedition is in the Civil State, that Schism is in the Church of Christ. It breaks one Society into many Pieces, and makes them no longer one Body, but so many several Bodies as there are disjoynted Parties. And therefore Church-Schisms are call'd Seditions, both by St. Paul—the Works of the Flesh are Heresies, Seditions, i. e. Heresies and Schisms, Gal. 5. 20: and by St. Clement ordinarily, and other Apostolical Writers.

And when this is made in any Church for Means of better Edification, because the established Helps happen to have some Defects, and are not so fitted to our Profit as we would have them: it is such another way of Redress, as when a Sedition is made in a State, to remedy the Defects and Grievances of any Kingdom. In both which, as the Remedy is most *sinful*, being such an high and open Breach of Peace, which God has made the most sacred of all Duties: so is it withal most foolish, and a way of Cure incomparably worse than the Disease. For surely the

the tearing Things to pieces, is the worst way of mending Faults; and Sedition, and the utter loss of Peace, are among the worst of Grievances that can befall any Communities.

3. 'Tis against the End even of the best Helps and Means of Edification, which is to establish Peace, and keep out Schism; and so are utterly perverted when they are made the Ground of Separation.

As for Private Graces and Improvements themselves, the Exercise even of them is oft-times subject to this End, and they are always best and most perfect, when they are so used, as that we may not only profit our selves with them, but edifie the Church too. Love and Peace are the Ruling Virtues, as I have shew'd, which must guide the rest, and the Great End whereto all others must be made subservient. This Rule St. Paul gives the *Corinthians* for the management of themselves in other Duties—*Let all your things be done with Charity*; so that even other Duties are in danger of losing their Grace, when they are exercised uncharitably. 1 Cor. 16. 14. And the Exercise of Devotion, even in inspired Prayers and Hymns when Men were acted by them, he tells them must be with deference to Peace and Publick Edification. Every one, saith he, hath a Psalm, but let all things be done to edifying. 1 Cor. 14. 26.

But as for all the outward Means and Helps of Edifying in these Private Graces, they are more absolutely subservient to Peace, and must be so used for profiting Private Men, as that they be sure at the same time to edifie the whole Church, and maintain Union.

These Means of Edification, are either those Publick Officers God has appointed in his Church, or those Gifts he bestows upon them for the Edification of Believers. And tho it be a great Design of both these, to edifie particular Persons in Faith, and Practice; yet is it an higher End to edifie the whole Church in Peace and Unity, and keep out Schisms.

1. This Edification of the whole Church, and preserving Peace and Unity, is the main End of Gifts. Thus we are told of Knowledge, which St. Paul rejects when it is used only to build up and please our selves, and is not govern'd by Charity that edifies others. 1 Cor. 8. 1. And thus also of Prophecy or Preaching, that great Means of Edifying Believers. For tho it was then an extraordinary and inspired Gift, yet was it to be limited by Publick Ends, and the Spirit of Prophecy to be stinted and

† 1 Cor. 12.  
32.

and suppressed, when it came unseasonably upon them in the Church, and, by moving several to speak at the same time, bred confusion and Publick disturbance. *The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets*, i. e. to govern them in subserviency to the Churches Peace: *For God is not the Author of Confusion*, i. e. he bestows no Gifts to serve that end, but of Peace, as in the Churches of the Saints. 1 Cor. 14. 32, 33. And to name no more in this case, St. Paul, as I have shewed, makes *Charity*, that uniting Virtue, and sure obstacle of all Schisms, the most † excellent of all Gifts. So that when the gifted Men themselves are zealous to exercise their Gifts, or others are zealous to be under them, they must both have a higher zeal to shew their Charity, and maintain it in the first place. *Follow after Charity*, says he again, *and desire Spiritual Gifts*: So that in all exercise and pursuit of them, they must not fail to follow Love, and take it along with them. 1 Cor. 14. 1.

2. It is also the great end of those Officers, whom God has appointed and empowered, and whom he has endowed with these Gifts for the edification of his Church; such as Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers. For they are given, says St. Paul, *for the perfecting of the Saints, and the edifying of the Body of Christ*. Eph. 4. 11, 12. They are given for the perfecting of the Saints, i. e. for the edifying particular Christians in Faith and Practice: but yet so as to be given also for the edifying of the Body of Christ, till we come in the Unity of the Faith to a perfect Man. So that when these Officers seek to edifie particular Believers, they must be sure at the same time to secure another end, i. e. the edification of the Body, and Unity of the Church. They are given as Members, which shews evidently they must make up but one Body, and keep Unity with the other parts: Nay, they are given as joyns, which are the very Ligaments of Union and Compactness.

These Officers are given as Members of the Church, and this shews they must make up one Body, and keep Unity with the other parts. For the Unity of the Body is to be the care of all the Members, especially of those which excel in Gifts, or are highest in Dignity and Office. Thus it is, as the Apostle observes 1 Cor. 12. in the Natural Body. It has several Members very different in endowments, and destined, some to more, some to less honourable Offices. But because of this difference, the

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more able and honourable Members do not set up for themselves, and seek a Separate Profit or applause, or make a Schism, and divide from others. Tho there be many Members, says he, they all make up but one Body. v. 20. And the Eye, tho a more Honourable Member, cannot separate Interests, or say to the Hand (tho less Honourable) *I have no need of thee: nor again the Head to the Feet, I have no need of you.* v. 21. And none seek only themselves, which would cause Divisions; but they have all the same care one for another, if one suffer, all the rest suffering; or if one be honoured, all the rest rejoicing with it; that there be no Schism in the Body. v. 25, 26. And like to this in Natural Bodies, is the difference of Officers in the Church. Tho that have variety of Gifts, as Wisdom, Knowledge, Prophecy, Faith, Miracles, &c. v. 8, 9, 10. And variety of Officers and Ministers, some gifted more, some less; some higher, some lower in Authority than others: for there are differences of Administrations, v. 5; God having set first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers, after that Miracles, and Gifts of Healing, i. e. Persons endowed with them, Helps (i. e. some distributing Charity, as Deacons, or attending on Impotent and Orphans) Governments as Bishops and Presbyters, Diversities of Tongues, v. 28. Tho, I say, in the Church there be this difference, both of Gifts and Ministries; yet must not those differently Gifted or Authorized Officers draw different ways, and form divided Parties, but all aim at the Unity of the whole Body as its Natural Members. *As all the Members in the Body Natural are one Body; so also is Christ*, the different Ministeries and Members making but one Body in him likewise. v. 12: And the several Ministeries, as Apostles, Prophets, &c. are all the Body of Christ, says he, and Members in particular, which therefore must cement together, and not fall off and divide from each other. v. 27, 28. And, as we have many Members in one Body Natural, and yet all these Members, though the Body be but one, have not one and the same Office, more than these Members of the Church: So we being many Members and Officers (the variety whereof is described, v. 6, 7, 8.) are still to be but one Body in Christ, and every one Members one of another (the difference in Offices giving no more liberty to divide the Church, than the same difference in the Natural Members doth to divide the Natural Body) Rom. 12. 4, 5.

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Nay these Officers are not set only as *Members*, which, as we have seen, is enough to prevent Schism; but they are *set in the Church as joynts*, which are to compact all the other parts, and are the very Bonds and Ligaments of Union. *The whole Body*, says St. Paul, *fitly joynted together, and compacted by that which every joynt supplies*. Eph. 4. 16. Every joynt, i. e. Every Officer and Church-governour; for in them the other Members are joynted and united to one another. And since they are joynts, they must fasten and unite all the other parts together, not tear them from each other; what *they supply*, says the Apostle, must compact the Body, and therefore must in no wise divide it, and of one make many. So that as for the extraordinary Abilities, and edifying power of some Pastors and Teachers, it must never occasion or head Schisms and Divisions. But must be so applied by them, and so sought to by others; that whilst it labours to build up Faith and Good Life in particular Persons, at the same time it build up Unity in the Church and Body of Christ. When an increase is endeavoured, by the effectual working in every part; that must be in such measure, as the Apostle says again, as secures the whole Body, and consists with Publick Peace and settlement. *The effectual working in the measure of every part, makes increase of the Body to the edifying it self in Love*. Eph. 4. 16.

4. When the Corinthians broke the Unity of the Church on this pretence of greater profiting, the Apostle charges the great sin of Schism upon them.

Under their Divisions they had this to plead, that the common means were unedifying, and that the Publick Assemblies were not so ordered, as that they might receive the greatest profit by them. *When they came together, every one had a new inspired Psalm, or a Doctrine, or a Revelation, or an Interpretation; the uttering whereof all at once bred nothing but confusion, and was not, as he says, a doing things unto edifying*. 1 Cor. 14. 26. They were generally so forward to shew their *Gifts of Tongues*, that every one in the Assembly that could, was for uttering a *Prayer*, or *Revelation*, or an *Exposition in a strange Language*. And this made their understanding Unfruitful unto others, v. 14. So that the unlearned, not understanding what was said, could not say Amen at their giving of thanks, v. 16; that the Speaker only edified himself, v. 4; but that the Congregation was not edified, v. 17.

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Nay, there was then, not only much unedifyingness in their publick Assemblies, but they divided on this pretence, to associate themselves with more edifying Teachers. They were Zealous, as my Text says, of *Spiritual Gifts*, and mighty admirers of Gifted Men, but very prone to slight others, who were inferiour to them. They were all for setting up the most powerful and edifying Pastors—they *gloried in Men*. 1 Cor. 3. 21. They would flock to those they most admired, where they thought to edifie most, and become their followers, but separate from others—they *were puffed up for one against another*. 1 Cor. 4. 6. Yea, for the sake of their admired Teachers, they would disparage even St. Paul himself, alledging that he was *rude in speech*, i. e. made less elegant, clear, and Edifying Sermons; and less gifted, than some other more followed Ministers, 2 Cor. 11. 4. 6: which put him upon speaking so much in his own defence and commendation, as he doth, 2 Cor. c. 11. and c. 12. For so he excuses all that glorying, and setting forth his own Praises—I *am become a fool in glorying, but by such unjust preferring them above me, ye have compelled me*. 2 Cor. 12. 11. But when they broke the Unity of the Church, and burst thus into Strife and Division to set up the most Powerful Gifted Men, and seek better means of edifying: he tells them they are guilty of the great sin of Schism. *Whereas there are among you these Divisions, tho shelter'd under these pretences, ye are Carnal, and walk as Men*. 1 Cor. 3. 3.

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5. And lastly, *If this Pretence of Edifying better by the Rent they make, be a good and warrantable Reason for it, there can be no such thing as Unity in the Church, nor any stop to Separations*. For this Pretence will serve almost all men, and that almost at all times, to break loose, so that no fast hold can be taken of them in any Church. If the Rule be, to break off from others, and still to unite with that Teacher by whom he edifies most: the next Question is, Who shall judge who that is; and that must be every man for himself, for every man seems best able to tell his own Gains by what he finds, and one is not a fit Judge of anothers Profit. And when every man must seek a Teacher whom he fancies most, tho in opposition to such as the Law has appointed; since mens Fancies are infinitely various in this Point, how can there be any Bond of Union in any Neighbourhood? For one is most pleas'd with melting Tones, and Voice,

and Vehemence; another with pretty Sayings, choice Similitudes, and affected Allegories, thinking there lies much Spirituality in affecting Phrases; a third thinks Figures and Phrases only amuse the Fancy, but darken Knowledge, and is for hearing Weighty and Useful things deliver'd in Intelligible and Plain Discourses. In Sermons, some seek witty Conceits, and Resemblances; others, ostentation of Learning in citation of Authors, and *Greek* and *Latin* Sentences: Some again think lightly of both these, and seek more to be inform'd in Deep and Mysterious Points, or to be fed with Discoveries of new Notions; others, to hear a clear State of hard Cases; a third prefers the most pathetical, moving Preachers; a fourth is for the subtillest Disputants, who shew most Dexterity and Skill in Controversies. Thus various are Mens Judgments in these things. And therefore, if every Man be at liberty to chuse that Preacher, by whom he edifies most in what he fancies best, there is not like to be any settled Union in Parishes or Churches. Nay, the same Man will not be at unity with himself at different times. For Mens Humours, and Opinions of these Matters daily alter, and when they change, by this Rule they must also change their Teachers; and so are never like to be true and constant, even to their own admired Congregations. If Men then are free to leave the Establish'd Ministry, and adhere to any whom they think they can hear more profitably; 'tis plain the Church can be no such thing, as the *Scripture* every where \* declares it is viz. *One Body*.

\* Eph. 4. 4.  
Gal. 3. 15.

And thus upon all these Accounts it appears, that the Edification and Unity of the Church must be preferr'd, and sought in the first place, and limit us in seeking out the best Means and Helps of Edifying in Particular Virtues. So that we must never seek to supply supposed Defects, and get better Means of Private Edifying by a Schism. We may labour after them as we can in all Peaceable ways; but must in no wise for their sake break the Unity of the Church, and make Divisions. For this, as I have shewn, is against the Fundamental Law of all Communities, which forbids Men to seek their own Private Profit at the Publick Loss; it is against the Fundamental Laws of Christs Church, who engages all his Members to deny themselves, and forego their Private Profit for Publick Peace, and to be careful of it before all other Duties; it is like raising Se-

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dition in the Civil State for Redress of Grievances, which is a most Foolish, as well as Sinful Course; it is an utter perverting of the true End of all Helps and Means of Edifying, whose main Design is to maintain Peace and prevent Schisms; it makes Separation endless, and renders it impossible that there should be any such thing as Unity in the Church; and when Men have divided the Church on this Pretence, they have been charged with the great Sin of Schism in the Scriptures. So that in seeking the best Means of Private Edification, every Good Man must stop in Peaceable Ways, which are the only Ways that are Innocent; yea, and the Ways that are best too, all things consider'd, and the Benefit of Peace being cast into the Scales, tho some others should happen to be better when consider'd abstractly in themselves. And therefore no Conscientious or Wise Man, must ever attempt to procure a Means more edifying to himself by Separation.

From this it may plainly appear, how unwarrantably our Dissenting Brethren act in Separating from us, whom they confess to be a *sound and lawful* Church, upon pretence that they can edifie more in Separate Meetings. To satisfy them wherein, it may be very fit to consider,

1. *Whether that is indeed true, which is supposed by them, viz. That their Preaching is in it self fitter than ours is for edification.* It is an invidious thing to make Comparisons, especially when they are to commend our selves: but we may very innocently, and inoffensively admonish them, to examine this Point well before they pronounce thus of it: Do they come to hear us, before they complain of the unedifyingness of our Sermons? And if they come at all, is it only now and then by fits, or often, if not constantly, for so long at least, till they have heard all the Parts, and so can comprehend the whole Design, and bear away the Connexion of our Discourses? And when they are at Church, do they give diligent heed, and attend to what we say? And in attending, do they hear us without prejudice against our Persons, and a design to find faults, and pick up something to complain of? Yea, what is more, do they hear us, as I presume they do their own Teachers, with Reverence and composed Thoughts, which greatly prepare the Mind to profit and edifie by any Discourses, and which, tho sometimes perhaps undeserved by the Preachers skill and eloquence, are yet always most due to the Religion and Solemnity



nity of the Service, and are Tempers that all Men ought to put on, whilst others are speaking to them in Gods Name, and delivering his Message? And after they have heard, do they give themselves the trouble to make what they heard their own, and apt to stick by them and affect them, by meditating upon it, and applying it to themselves, and so bringing it close to their own Consciences? Without this Honesty and Impartiality, and Godly care in hearing, they would not be edified if the Holy Ghost himself were to preach to them; and when Christ himself was upon Earth, his Sermons were unprofitable, and did not edifie the generality of his Hearers, for the want of them; and if they are in the same fault in hearing us, no wonder they are little edified by our Preaching. And after all this, when they pass Sentence, by what Rule do they try the profitability of our Discourses? Do they judge a Sermon edifying, only as it speaks according to their Opinion; or insists most on some things, and delivers them in such forms of speech as most please them; or is full only of the glorious Priviledges of the Saints (which, though fit to be treated of sometimes, must not ingross all our Discourses, or be more insisted on than those Duties which are to secure them to us,) and gives comfortable intimations that they are all theirs, which may feast their Fancies with the delightful Thoughts, of their being more precious and dear to God than others? Do they judge it to be edifying, I say, only from such things as these; or as it answers the foregoing Description of Edification? Do they hear Discourses of weightier matters, or more plain and intelligible Accounts, less darkned with Phrases and Metaphors, or stronger Reasons for any Doctrines, or clearer Explications of any Duties, or more perspicuous and careful states of any Cases, or wiser Directions for any Points of Practice, or more forcible Motives to ingage to the use of them, or more satisfactory Solutions of any important Questions and Doubts of Conscience in the Separate Meetings, than they might hear in the Parish Churches? If they try the Point by these Measures, 'tis like they will not be so forward to pronounce against us, nor talk so much of the edification of their own Preachers, and the want of it in ours.

2. *If, as they suppose, their Sermons were fitter than ours are for edification, yet are not they sure to edifie more by them.* For

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we are but the Means and Instruments, but the Effect of all proceeds from Gods Blessing. *We are only Ministers*, says St. Paul, *by whom you believed. I have planted, and Apollos watered, but God gave the increase*, 1 Cor. 3. 5, 6. And we are most sure of Gods Blessing, when we keep in Gods own way, and wait upon him in those Means which he has allotted us. For God is wont to bless most his own Appointments; and that not only when they best answer the end of their Institution, and are most useful and edifying; but even when they are degenerated, and edifie less; and accordingly our Saviour referred Men to them, when that was really the Case. The *Scribes and Pharisees* in his time, were far from the most edifying Teachers; being both wicked and ignorant, two most unedifying Qualities. They were *Blind Guides*, Mat. 23. 16; and *bad Livers*, being full of *Vain Glory, Rapine, and Hypocrisie*, &c. v. 5, 6, 14. But yet unedifying as they were, since they sat in *Moses Seat*, he refers the *Jews* to their *Ministry*, to expect the Blessing of God in their due attendance upon it. v. 2, 3. The *Priests* in those Days, by the *Scripture*-accounts of them, were far from the Holiest Men; so that if the Holiness of him that brings it be any recommendation of the Gift, they were not in themselves the fittest to present an Offering. But yet, because they were the Means of Gods appointing, when the *Leper was cleansed*, and was to return God an *Oblation*, Christ orders him to carry it *to the Priest*, because thro his Hands God would accept it of him. Mat. 8. 4. Thus is Gods Blessing, which is the great cause of our profiting, to be looked for in Gods own ways, and in attendance upon the means which he has allotted us; and we have not a like reason to expect it when we reject them, especially if we run into a plain Breach of that Unity and Good Order he has established in his Church, in pursuit of others. And when Gods Blessing goes along with them, we shall edifie more by weaker means; so that a more edifying Sermon in an unedifying way, such as *Schism* is, is not so like to profit us. But

3. If they could edifie more by them, yet is it in no wise lawful thus to break the Unity and Peace of the Church for better Edification. There is no breaking Publick Peace, as we have seen, for better means of Private Profiting: so that no Man

Man must ever seek to edifie in Schism, or to grow in Grace by joyning in Separation.

And thus I have explained the *Nature of Edification*, and shewn what Improvements it implies; viz. *Any increase in Private Virtues*, or in *Publick Settlement and Peace*. So that then any Man *edifies in Religion*, when he is *bettered in any Point of Faith or Manners*, or made more complying with innocent *Publick Constitutions*, and a more peaceable Member of the Church.

And having thus shewn what it implies, I am now

2. To press it as the Great Point whereat they are to aim, on all sorts of Christians.

And here had I time, I should urge all Christians to lay out themselves in improving useful Knowledge, and obedient Practice, and peaceable Inclinations; to stir up and cherish in themselves devout Affections, and daily renew and strengthen Holy Purposes, and express in the whole course of their Lives the power of Godliness, in all due submission to their Governours, and tender care of the Churches Peace, as well as in all Duty towards God, and exercise of Private Virtues. For this is truly to grow in Grace, and be edified Believers.

I would intreat you, my Reverend Brethren, in the Name of Christ, whose Ministers we are, not only to be exemplary and shining Lights in edifying thus your selves; but also to be wise and unwearied in your Labours, in carrying on this Edification among all others you can any ways work upon, especially those committed to your Charge. That you would instruct the ignorant with all assiduitie and plainness; convince the erroneous; with all gentleness and calm arguings, yea with all Patience and Perseverance, remembering that it is an hard matter, and a work of time, for a Man to cast off old and rivited Opinions, and that any one is troubled enough in being shewed his error, without hearing of it in Anger and Investive Speeches; and labour to win all Men over to an universal Holiness with your utmost skill and diligence. That you would study to be plain, and useful in all your Sermons: Prudently bold, and impartial in Reproofs; warning Men against all, even their beloved Vices, with such freedom, as may keep their Consciences awake, and yet with such shew of tenderness and prudent timing of Reproof, as may not tempt them to fly out from us: endeavouring to reclaim them from Schism,

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which is most mischievous to the Church, and which nothing can excuse before God but an honest Ignorance, and the pitifulness of unmasterable Prepossessions; and from all Prophane-ness and Immoralities, which, without particular Repentance and Amendment, are most surely mischievous to their own Souls, which have no Plea of Pardonable Ignorance and Involuntariness, and for which there is no Excuse at all. In all which, by the Love of Christ I would beseech you, to shew all Wisdom, and Diligence, and Patience, and unwearied Perseverance, and compassionate Tenderness and Love for Souls.

I would in all Christian Love beseech our *Dissenting Brethren*, and be instant with them, since it so nearly concerns both the Church and them, that they would seek no longer to build up only themselves; but to edifie the Church of Christ, which they certainly pull down by their Separation.

In very deed they may have great Means of Private Edification in our Church, and need not seek for better in any other Place. They will edifie sufficiently by our *Sermons*, as I have noted, if they bring along with them prepared Minds; and and without them the *Jews* could not edifie by the Sermons of Christ and his *Apostles*. And if they cannot edifie by the *Churches Prayers* too, the Fault, I am sure, is not in the *Prayers*, but in *themselves*. For consider, Brethren, the Prayers we use are not to give Affections to us, but to express those we have; so that when we come to Pray, we must bring them along with us. And if we come with an awful sense of God in our Minds, with serious and good Purposes, and devout Affections; we need no better Helps to express them, than the Churches Service. For therein are sound, suitable, and well-composed Prayers, which extend to all Necessities, begging all needful Graces, and praying particularly both against Sins and Calamities, and requesting outward Blessings, and giving Thanks for Receipt of Mercies, and interceding for all States and Conditions of Persons, and suited to the Great Periods and States of Life. In all which they pitch upon the most pertinent, and proper things; and express them in Grave, Plain, and Significant Language; and are intermixed with *Responses* to fix Attention, and call back wandring Thoughts; and are parcel'd into Collects to give Breath, and not weary us out with an uninterrupted continuance of intense Affections. So that

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if we bring with us a Heart to desire these things, here we have Prayers to suggest, and express our Desires of them; yea, such as whilst they do express, are greatly fitted to increase them. Thus fit are they to edifie in themselves, and this great Numbers of truly Pious and Devout Souls have found, and from their own Experience can testifie concerning them. And now if any shall still charge such excellent Prayers as unedifying, where lies the blame? whether in the Deadness of the Prayers, or the Indevotion and Unpreparedness of their own Hearts. If a Man thinks the most wholesom and substantial Food distasteful or insipid, 'tis a sign he has a depraved Appetite. And if he feels no Devotion in the use of such Pious, Wise, and Profitable Forms, 'tis a sign his Soul is sick, and that his Spiritual Sense has lost its Taste, since the most agreeable Food is no better relish'd by it. He is Indevout, not because the Prayers do not suggest Devout things, nor cloath them in Proper and Devout Expressions; but because he doth not hold his Mind attent, or has not prepared his Heart to be affected with them. So that if these our Brethren will take the Godly Care and Pains to mend this Fault which is in themselves, and come with Reverent and Prepared Minds; they will not, I believe, complain any longer of Deadness and want of Edification in the Churches Prayers, which are not only Good, but, as those who use them without prejudice, and with Devotion in their Hearts can testifie, very excellent for that purpose.

But tho they could not so well edifie themselves in them; yet, by the Love of Christ I would beseech them, to seek no longer to build up only themselves; but to edifie the Church of Christ, which they pull down by their Separation. Make Conscience of Peace and Unity, Brethren, and think them as Necessary things, as any others in Religion. Remember it is one of the necessary Properties of Charity to have such care of others as keeps out Schism; and that without this Charity there is no Benefit in any Services, no not in Martyrdom: and how then can you account to your selves the throwing that away, for any other thing? Esteem your selves as Members of the Body, and consider that the Body is built up by Unity. This Christ has founded upon himself, and the Apostles, those Master-Builders, have edified, by compacting it into one: and how then will you look either upon him or them, who pluck

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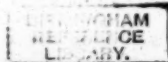
afunder what they put together, and pull it down by Division? The Design of God in all the most Powerful Gifted Ministers, is to build up the Body, and keep out Schism: and what account will you give to him for crossing that Design, in making these not only the Heads of Parties, but the Pretence of Separation? If you had lived in *Corinth*, when Men separated, as you do here, to follow more Gifted Guides, would not you have returned again to the Unity of the Church upon the Apostle's Admonition? And why then should you not do the same now, upon this Intimation, that his Reproof reaches you, as much as it did them? The Way of Separation, my Brethren, is a most unedifying Course; for Unity builds up, but Schism destroys the Church, and all Societies. So that if you would edifie the Church, which is Christ's Spouse; if you will be at any pains to build it up, as he was at the pains to die for it; it must be in the way of Peace, and by submitting to any thing, which you think may be done with a safe Conscience (as this Plea it self shews you do think in our Case, it being against our Way only because, as you say, less Edifying, not because of any Unlawfulness) rather than upon account thereof to divide, and form separate Parties.

I would exhort you the *Church-wardens* to be careful of edifying, not only as Private Christians, but also in the faithful discharge of your Oaths, (considering that Perjury has in it a most horrible Guilt) and in the Duties of your Places. That when you endeavour to suppress Vices, you would be impartial, and intire in such endeavours; considering, that all Notorious Swearing, Drunkenness, and Immoralities, as well as staying away from Church; and that all staying away out of Irreligion and Carelessness, as well as out of Scruples and pretence of Conscience, is equally a matter of your Oath, and a Point wherein you may do God, and the Souls of Men Service. The *Church-wardens* swear, indeed, to discharge this only according to the best of their Knowledge; but then they must use a competent endeavour to know it, and this is no warranty at all to affect Ignorance; and much less to pass over what they do know, in negligence, or connivance. And many, it may be of those that fail, would discharge it so far as they know, were it not that they are afraid to anger, and displease their Neighbours. But 'tis most unreasonable any

Man should be angered with them for performing their Oaths, and discharging a Good Conscience. Can any Man, if he has left the Conscience, have left the Modesty withal so far, as to desire them to forswear themselves, and destroy their own Souls to do him a kindness? Or will any Man that is Conscientious, and stays from Church out of Conscience, take it ill that they should be tender of their Consciences as well as he is of his, and dread the horrid Sin of Perjury, the greatest wound to a Good Conscience? They have no liberty of Connivance, being bound up by Oaths; so that if any favour and indulgence be expected, it must not be from them, but at higher Hands. And therefore no Man, in any Reason or Modesty, can be angered at them for acting faithfully according to their Oaths. But if any be; that Anger at Men for performing Oaths and a Good Conscience, is nothing less than frightening them from their Duty, and laying Stumbling-Blocks before others, and putting the Burden of the Cross on Good Mens Shoulders for good Actions, which has so many Woes denounced to it in the Scriptures. And as for the *Church-wardens* themselves, when they incur any Displeasure or Malice of Men on this account, they may encourage themselves with this, that therein they suffer for Righteousness sake, and endure the Cross for keeping a Good Conscience, wherein they may comfortably commit themselves to God, expecting, that either his Providence will prevent any ill effects, or infinitely make them up to them afterwards, because they have thus exposed themselves only to be faithful in his Service.

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THE  
Religious Loyalist :

OR, A  
GOOD CHRISTIAN

Taught  
How to be a Faithful SERVANT  
BOTH TO  
GOD and the KING.

IN A  
Visitation-Sermon

Preached at *Coles-hill* in *Warwick-shire*, Aug. 28, 1685.

At the Triennial Visitation of my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*,  
During the Suspension of the Bp. of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

By *John Kettlewell*, Vicar of *Coles-Hill*.

Imprimatur,

Hen. Maurice R. Arch. Cant.  
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against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet street*. 1686.





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# TO THE READER.

READER,

**T**HE first and greatest Duty in Religion, is sincere Piety towards God. And next to that is Submission to Gods Vice-gerent, which all men have Obligation enough to practise, to make their Passage easie, and secure through this world, as well as to save their Souls in that which is to come. To recommend both these Duties to all mens care, is the business of this Sermon. I have endeavoured to be Plain and Particular in such necessary Points, to render it more helpful to

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*To the* READER.

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mens Practice And the plain-  
ness and Honesty of this Dis-  
course, together with the  
great need our Age has to be  
often admonished and instru-  
cted in these Subjects, was that,  
I presume, which mov'd several  
Worthy persons who were  
pleased with it from the Pul-  
pit, to desire I would make it  
more publick from the Press.  
I have yielded to their request  
in hope it can do no hurt, and  
may do some good. And if  
thereby any be more instrcted  
or settled in these important  
Matters, God will receive some  
Glory, this Church and State  
some Quiet and Establishment,  
their own Souls some Benefit  
by it, and then I have my end.

## M A T T H. 22. 21.

*Render therefore unto Cesar, the things  
which are Cesar's; and unto God,  
the things which are God's.*

**T**Hese Words are our Saviour's Answer to a Question which some Male-contented and Religious Zealots among the Jews put to him, whether *Tribute was to be paid to the Roman Emperours*, who were the Rulers God had set over them at that time. And they contain the just Bounds of Pious and Religious Loyalty, teaching us how to maintain an inviolable Duty both to God and the King. Religion towards God is the chief concern of all wise and good men, especially of us who are the Ministers of it. And Loyalty and due Allegiance to the King, will always be the care of all that duly fear God, or desire to live at quiet. Both these are indispensibly required, and in themselves can very well consist together: But yet in the practice

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of the World, mens Fears for the one, are most apt to bear them against the other. And because we have so fresh an instance of this in the late Rebellion among our selves, I think it may be very fit at this season to shew men, how they are to express their care for God, and that without Rebelling; and also how they are to shew their affection to their Sovereign, and that without deserting, or any ways injuring true Religion.

Sometimes Princes profess a Wrong Religion; nay, sometimes they set themselves against the True, and persecute Gods Servants. And when at any time this is the Case, our duty to God and the King seem as if they were at odds, and look like irreconcilable and inconsistent things. And then men oft-times think themselves exempt from one of them, because they cannot serve two Masters of contrary Interests, so that either in Zeal for Religion, they cast off all duty to their Prince, and turn *Bigotted Rebels*; or else in compliance with their Prince, they throw aside true Religion and their Duty towards God, and turn *Irreligious Time-servers*. But the true de-  
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termination of the Case, our Saviour tells us, is to do neither of these. When Princes happen to have any mis-perswasions about Religion, we must still pay them all civil Subjection and Obedience. But our Loyalty must not carry us to embrace their Errours, but at the same time we must keep true to Religion and Gods Service. *Render, &c.*

In discoursing upon these words, I shall

1. *Shew on what ground these Inquirers thought themselves exempt, and what was the cause of this Question.*

2. *Unfold the plain determination our Saviour here gives of it, and shew what is implied in religious Loyalty and true Christian Subjection, so as that there may be no just cause of Offence, either to God, or to the King. Render, &c.*

1. *I shall shew on what ground these Inquirers thought themselves exempt, and what was the cause of this Question.*

Now that was because they thought they ought not to be subject to a Prince of a Foreign Religion.

This Sect, who sought satisfaction in this point, were not against *all* Subjection, as if they would be lawless, and introduce a perfect License, having no controuler but themselves. They would submit to a Prince of their *own Nation*, as their Fore-fathers had done to *Saul, David, and Solomon* : Yea, they would submit to a Prince of a *Foreign Nation*, provided he would embrace their Religion and way of Worship, and espouse *Judaism*. And thus these very Inquirers did at this time : For *Herod* was a Forreigner, by Country an *Idumæan*, not *Jewish* born ; but because *Idumæa* when it was conquered was cast into the same Province with *Judæa*, and especially because he turned Profelyte to *Judaism*, and became an eminent Professor and great Assertor of their Law and Religion, they made no dispute at all of being subject unto him, the *Herodians*, i. e. the Court-doctors and Favourers of *Herod*, coming along with the *Pharisees* to ask our Lord this Question, as we are told *v. 16.*

But they were against paying subjection to Heathens, who worshipped other Gods, and were not of the same Religion with them-

themselves. The Soverain Lord of all is Almighty God, and Princes are onely Officers of his whom he has deputed; and they would not esteem any one a right Vicegerent but that worshipped the same God as they did, *μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραηλῆσιν* \* Antiqu. l. 18. c. 2. says \* *Josephus* of them, *i. e. The onely Lord and Leader they owned was God*, and Governors that owned him; and so they would not submit to any *prophane* Dominion which had renounced him, as the *Romans* did at that time: So that they cast off the Yoke, not because they would have none over them, but because they would not be subject to a Heathen. The *Founder* of this Sect, which *Josephus* calls the *Fourth Sect*, was *Judas Gaulonites*, who rose in *Galilee* in the *days of the Taxing* under *Cyrenius*, and is called by *Gamaliel Judas of Galilee*, *Acts* 5. 37. He was followed by those *Galileans* whom, because of their rejecting the *Roman Yoke*, *Pilate* the *Roman-governour* came upon, and slew as they were a Sacrificing; *Luke* 13. 1. His Followers lay much among the *Pharisees*, those zealous Assertors of the *Mosaick Law* and *Jewish Liberties*, *with whom*, as \* *Josephus* notes, \* *Ibid.* they



*they accord in all things.* And they were *Pharisees who came to Christ*, desiring to be resolved in this point, v. 15, 16.

Thus did they fancy they ought not to be subject to the *Roman Emperours*, because they were of *another Religion*: And this being a main point, and our blessed Lord being a Doctor of greatest Name and Reputation among them, they come to him for a confirmation of it. As for other *Rabbies*, they told him they were Temporizers and Court-flatterers, men of good Understanding, it may be, but of low Spirits, who although they had the wit to see this truth, had yet the corrupt carnal Policy to conceal and dissemble it, because it was dangerous; especially having so fresh an instance of the *Roman Severity* on the Abettors of it, as *Pilates* slaughter of the *Galileans*. But as for himself, they believed him to be not onely skilful, but true and bold too, and that in his Answers he would speak the truth of things, not what was like to please persons. And therefore in this case they would not apply themselves to others, from whom they could look for nothing but Art and Secular Compliances,  
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but to him, from whom they had so just reason to expect the truth it self. Master, say they, *we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man, for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore what thinkest thou, Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cesar, or not?* v. 16, 17.

This opinion then was the occasion of this Question. I proceed now

2. To unfold the plain determination, which our Saviour gives of it, and to shew what is implied in Religious Loyalty and true Christian Subjection, so as that there may be no just cause of offence, either to God, or the King. Render, &c.

Now this determination consists in these two things.

1. That we pay all due respect and just obedience to our Prince, whatever Religion he be of, so that the Pretence of Religion must never make us ill Subjects. Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesars. But still

2. That at the same time we reserve all due service, and subjection to Almighty God; so that when Princes happen to err  
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in Religion, the pretence of Loyalty must never draw us to embrace their Errours, and become irreligious. Render unto God the things which are Gods.

1. He tells us we must pay all due Respect and just Obedience to our Prince, whatever Religion he be of; so that the pretence of Religion must never make us ill Subjects. Render unto Cesar, &c.

Now the things of Cesar, or those Duties which we are to pay our Prince, I shall comprehend under these three Heads.

1. Inward Love and Reverence.
2. Respectful Speeches and Expressions.
3. Obedient and Submissive Practice.

1. To a Prince all Subjects are bound to pay inward Love and Reverence.

They must bear an inward Love and Kindness, and stand well affected to their Power and Persons. And the natural effect of this will be, that they wish well to them, and sincerely desire the ease and happiness of their Reign: That they endeavour to accomplish their own desires, and make their Reigns easie by their quietness,

ness, and dutiful behaviour towards them : That they be forward to observe their Virtues, and to commend what is good in them, for that shews affection : That they be prone to conceal, or extenuate what would bring them to shame, for that is true love and tenderneſs towards any person : That they be candid in construing what is done or said by them, and turn all, so far as things will reasonably bear, to such a sence, as may cherish and maintain a good opinion of them, and the like. These are real Fruits of Love, and proper Trials of our Kindness towards any person ; and therefore are the true effects, and surest signs of our being well affected towards them.

They must also pay them an *inward Reverence*, because of their *Power* and *Premi- nence*. *Render fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour*, says *St. Paul*, speaking of the dues of Kings, *Rom. 13. 7.* And this Reverence we shall be thought to show, when we do not pragmatically intrude our selves into their Affairs, but by letting them alone to their own care, shew, we think them fit to manage their own business.

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When we pay a modest deference to their Councils, which we have neither opportunity, nor skill to judge of, and which therefore we cannot Censure, without great Arrogance and Sauciness. And lastly, when we behave our selves in their Presence after a respectful sort, not with sleightful and contemptuous Deportment, but with such becoming care, as manifests an awe for them dwelling upon our Spirits.

2. To a Prince all Subjects are bound to pay *respectful Speeches and Expressions*. They must not use blunt Reproofs and unmannerly Rudeness, when at any time they are addressing to themselves. *Is it fit, says Elihu in Job, to say to a King, thou art wicked? and to Princes, you are ungodly? Job. 34. 18.* Nor must they use irreverent & reproachful Speech when at any time they discourse of them with others. This implies *two things*, One is, *that they do not speak evil of their Persons*, being forward to tax, and aggravate their Faults: The other is, *that they do not complain and envy against their Administrations*, delighting to lay out the Grievances of State, and misguidance of Af-

Affairs. Both these were the sins of the *Gnosticks*, who brought the greatest scandal upon our Religion in the *first* days. They were always finding fault, as St. Jude says, with the *publick Managements*, being *Murmerers and Complainers*, v. 16. and boldly vilifying and reproaching the *Persons* of their Governours: *They despise Dominions*, says he, *and speak evil of Dignities*. Whereas Michael the Arch-Angel, when he contended with the Devil himself about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, the Lord rebuke thee, treating Authority with decent Speech, even when it was lodged in the Prince of Darkness, v. 8, 9.

Thus must all good Subjects refrain from speaking evil of the persons of their Governours, and inveighing against the publick Grievances and Male-administration of Affairs. And this they are bound to do, not as if the *Persons* and *Conduct* of all Rulers were so right, that no fault could be found in them; for there will be Personal Faults, and Publick Mis-carriages so long as Governours are Men: But because when there are things blame-

worthy, in charity to their Persons, and dutiful regard to their Power, we must not speak evil of them, and inveigh against them for them. When *St. Paul* called *Ananias whited Wall*, it was a true Reproach, for he had deserved that Name by his hypocritical and unjust usage. But though the Reflection was true, yet he confesses it was Criminal, because *it is written, thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy people*, Acts. 23. 3, 5.

3. To their Governours all Subjects are bound to pay *an obedient and submissive Practice*. Under this I comprehend three things. 1. *That they pay faithfully all legal Tributes*. 2. *That they obey readily all their just Laws*. And 3. *that when they cannot obey, they suffer patiently without making Insurrections*.

1. *They must pay faithfully all legal Tributes*, which are imposed on them by their Country Laws and Authentick Customs; and which are as much the Princes Property, not to be with-held, or defalcated, without fraud and dishonesty, as every private mans Estate and Inheritance is his. *Render to all their dues, tribute to whom*

whom tribute, custom to whom custom is due, saith St. Paul, Rom. 13. 7. This the *Primitive Christians* did with exemplary fidelity and exactness, being as Conscientiously fearful to with-hold any just Payment from their Prince, as from their Neighbors. They durst not pay, indeed, what was exacted of them for *Idolatrous Uses*, because that had been to contribute towards the Worship and Service of Idols. But *Cætera Vectigalia Gratias Christianis agent, &c.* says *Tertullian*, i. e. As to all other Customs, which are every where fraudulently concealed or with-held by the Gentiles, we Christians are so strict in paying them, that though the Gentiles pay Taxes for *Idolatrous uses*, which the Religion of us Christians will not suffer us to do, yet our punctualness in discharging all State-taxes so far exceeds theirs, that we pay as much into the Checquer for civil Impositions, as the Heathens do for those, and for *Idolatrous* too, Tert. Apol. c. 42.

2. They must readily obey all their just Laws. Put them in mind to be subject to *Principalities and Powers*, says St. Paul, and to obey Magistrates, Tit. 3. 1. And this  
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Obedience is due, whensoever they command *Lawful* things, *i. e. things unforbidden by a higher power*, and *which have no Law of God against them*. To shew a thing *Lawful*, it is unreasonable to ask where there is a *command* in Scripture, and a *Law of God* for it: For such a *Law commanding* it, would not make it a thing *Lawful* which *may* be done, but a thing necessary which *must* be done, and cannot be let alone. But to the lawfulness of things, it is enough that God has said nothing of them, and that there be *no Law of his against them*. This is security enough that they may be done without sin, or any offence to him: For he is never offended, and we never sin, nor shall ever suffer, but for breaking some *Law*, and doing something that he has forbidden. *Whosoever committeth sin, transgresses a Law*, saith St. John, *for sin is the transgression of a Law*, 1 Job. 3. 4. And there must always be a *Law*, saith St. Paul, *that worketh wrath; for where there is no Law, there is no transgression*, Rom. 4. 15. So that whensoever they enjoyn *unforbidden* things, they enjoyn *Lawful* ones, which no good Subjects must

must dispute and question, but peaceably and readily perform

3. *When unlawful things are enjoyned, which they cannot honestly obey, they must suffer with Patience, and not seek to stave off Sufferings by making Insurrections.* Whilst there is any help in Law to prevent unjust Sufferings, men may claim their *Legal Priviledges* in their own defence, as St.

\* *Paul did before the Heathen Magistrates.* \* Acts 22. 25. & c. 16. 37.

Or if Laws give no redress, they may have recourse to *Prayers and Tears*, or any other peaceable Arts to still a Princes Rage, and melt him into Justice. But if all peaceable methods fail, and there appear no hope of protection but in *Force*, the Case is helpless in Humane means, and must be left to God to redress it. Rebellion is a thing, which no necessity can excuse, nor any pretence can authorize: *They that resist*, says St. Paul, *shall receive to themselves damnation*, Rom. 13. 2. Which was spoken, when the Christians had felt some, and daily feared and expected greater Sufferings; and bound up their hands, when the Scepter presently after was sway'd by a man, Nero I mean, who invaded honest

\* Tacit.  
Annal. 15.  
& Suet. in  
Vita Ner.

nest mens Estates to supply his own profuseness, and embrued his hands in the Bloud of any he had a Pique against, without any regard to Law or Justice; and was a profest Enemy of the true God, and raised the first Persecution against the Christians, as appears from \* *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, two approved Historians of those times: And these are the fairest pretences, that can ever be urged in this case; so that if they cannot secure us in flying to Arms against our Governours, nothing else can.

All these are *the things of Cesar*: and whether Princes are good or bad, they are all due to them. For the ground of their being due, is not the *moral Endowments* of Princes, because they are men well qualified; but their *Power* and *Authority*, because they are the Vicegerents and Ordinance of God. This God assigns as the reason of our Duty; not that a Prince is circumspect or Successful, Wise, or Holy, but that he is his Deputy. *I have given the Kingdom to Nebuchadnezzar, says he, wherefore all Nations must serve him, Jer. 27. 6, 7, 8. The Powers are ordained of God,*  
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therefore he that resisteth shall receive damnation, Rom. 13. 1, 2. and he is the Minister of God, wherefore you must needs be subject, v. 4, 5. *Inde Potestas Cæsari unde Spiritus, illuc suspicientes Christiani, &c.* It is because God that gave him Breath has vested him with Power, that we honour and obey the Emperour, says Tertullian, Apol. c. 30, 31. So that all this Love and Reverence, this respectful Speech and submissive Practice are due, as to the Best, so to the Worst of Princes. They must be paid, not onely where Kings Rule well, and are wisely sollicitous for the Publick; but also where they lie steeped in Pleasure, and hate Business, and not onely neglect, but oppress the State. They are due to Princes of the most opposite Religions: for this is the very Case determined in the Text; the *Jews* denying Tribute, as was said, to the *Roman Emperours*, because they were Heathens. Nay, they are due, not onely to Princes that profess a false Religion, but also to those who impose it, and Persecute the true Religion. For so *Nero* did, if not before; yet at least, soon after *St. Paul*, under

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der the pain of *Damnation*, had required all Christians to be *Subject*, Rom. 13. And so also did the other *persecuting Emperours* that succeeded him, when the Christians were a noble spectacle of Bleeding, but persevering and unconquerable Loyalty to all the world.

As for this tryal of Persecutions, God be thanked it is not our case: For our Laws protect the true Religion, and punish all that dissent from it. And our King has graciously assured us, that he will govern by Laws, yea preserve the Government and Laws themselves, both in Church and State, as they are now established.

But where that is truly the Case, as it was with the Christians in the *Apostles* days, and the *Primitive Persecutions*; and as it is still with the *Forreign Protestants* in Popish Countries, but especially in *France*. Yet will not this Persecution of the true Religion, exempt Subjects from any Branch of the foresaid Duties. They must bear Honour and Reverence, and speak of them with Respect, as well as with Truth and Justice, and pay faithfully

ly all Legal Tributes , and obey cheerfully all their just Laws, and live quietly under them, without raising any Commotions to defend and secure even their Religion and themselves, under all Princes, under a *Nero*, *Dioclesian*, or *Julian*, that not onely profess, but espouse and forcibly propagate a false Religion, as well as under the best and most Orthodox and Christian Kings. So that *the pretence of Religion can never authorize any men to be ill Subjects.* *Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesars,* says our Saviour in this very case to those who inquired *how they should behave themselves under Princes of a wrong Religion.*

But whilst we are thus careful to pay all due Respect, and just Obedience to our Prince, whatever Religion he be of, so that *the pretence of Religion never make us ill Subjects.* We must take care still further,

2. To reserve at the same time all due Service and Subjection to Almighty God; so that when at any time Princes happen to err in Religion, *the pretence of Loyalty must never draw us to embrace their Errors,*

\* Rom.  
13. 4.

*and become irreligious.* When we do any thing else in compliance with Sovereign Princes, yet must we not sin against God for their sakes : For Princes, how high soever they are above us, are yet under him as his mere *Deputies* and \* *Ministers*, and he is still the Sovereign Prince ; so that our respect to them must never carry us to his prejudice, *Render unto God the things which are Gods*, is the other part of our Saviours Answer in this case.

The *things of God* are the *things of Religion*. And the Religion, which God prescribes, is not always the same with that which the Prince doth. In our own case, God be thanked, they meet. For our Laws fetch Religion from the Scriptures, and establish the same that Christ himself has there established. And our King has given us his Royal Word, that he will govern by Laws, and maintain them, and *always defend and support the Church of England*. But in other places among our neighbour Nations, the Laws of Religion, and the Laws of the Land, thwart and oppose each other. And so they did when our Religion was first planted, in the days of  
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of the *Apostles*; and so they continued to do in the succeeding Ages, and may still happen to do in all times. But when that is the case, this close adherence to the Rules of true Religion is still the inviolable Right of God, and no Powers on Earth must ever drive us from them.

Now the *things of God*, or those things which are due to him in Religion, I shall reduce to these three Heads.

1. *A belief of his Revelations.*
2. *Worshipping him according to his own Rules.*
3. *The service of a good Life, and an upright Practice.*

1. The first thing of Religion due to God, is *a belief of his Revelations*. Whatsoever he declares, we must all give absolute credit to, because all that believe a God, believe he is infinitely true, and can never deceive men. Nay, in matters of *Religion* and *Salvation* we must give credit to him alone, because he onely knows the terms of his own Mercy, and how he will bring us all to Heaven. In *these* Points, we are not to believe an *Apostle* himself, if he should not speak from him: For they, as  
St.



\* 2 Cor. 1. 24. St. \* Paul said, had not dominion over mens Faith, to make them believe any thing ;  
 \* 1 Cor. 4. 1. & 9. 17. but were onely as Messengers and \* Dispensers of Gods Word, and so could declare nothing but what he had told them. And much less should we believe either him or an Angel from Heaven , if he should not onely speak to us without Book , but against it, and contradict Gods own Revelation : *Though an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel than what we have preached unto you, and dequa 150, let him be accursed, i. e. look on him as if he were anathematized, and come not near him, nor give any heed to him, more than you would to one that is thrown out among Heathens and publicly excommunicated, Gal. 1. 8.* So that if the Laws of any Country require men to give their assent to ridiculous and absurd Opinions, as they do among Heathens and Mahometans ; or to believe quite contrary to the Scriptures , as they do in Italy and France , where all men are compelled to believe Transubstantiation, and to profess a Church Infallible, which has evidently embraced and taught a number of Falshoods : they not onely need not, but they ought not to

to comply with them. They must trust God before any Princes on earth when they happen to contradict him. It is Gods Prerogative to govern our Faith, and that must not be given up to any others.

2. A *second* thing in Religion due to God, is *worshiping him according to his own Rules*. This is another of Gods Rights. For his *adorable Excellencies*, and *Sovereignty over us*, claim our Worship; and he himself alone can prescribe it. The end of it is to honour and please him; and what will do that is best known to himself; so that his Worship must be of his own prescribing, and we must never attempt to worship him in a way forbidden. And therefore if any Powers on earth should command us to worship God in a way contrary to what he has required, therein they are not to be obey'd. Thus the *Heathens* required the *Primitive Christians* to *Sacrifice to their Gods*, and to *Swear by the Emperours Genius*. And thus in *France*, and in other *Popish Countries*, the poor *Protestants* are required, among other things of like sort, to *pray to Saints*, and *adore Images*, and *worship the Host*, and take up with

*a maimed Sacrament receiving the Bread onely without the Cup, and address to God in a Latine Service which they do not understand, and from whence they can expect to reap no profit.* All these ways of Worship are directly opposite and contradictory to Gods Rules; and therefore were justly and necessarily rejected by Gods faithful Servants. For here, notwithstanding their Princes Command, they might and ought to reserve themselves to Almighty God, this being his Province.

3. A third thing of Religion due to God, is *the Service of a good Life, and an upright Practice.* This is what God indispensibly requires of men in all Religions, and which they must be most careful to pay to him inviolably in all times. So that if any Powers should require to be served by *Fraud or Falshood, by Rapine or Bloodshed,* if they would have men stop at no bounds, nor scruple at any wickedness which serves their ends; their Subjects or Dependants must not hearken, but here obey God who is a greater King than they.

These are the *things of Religion*; and these are reserved to God as his things,  
which

which are put without the controul of Princes; so that we must not comply when at any time they invade them. Thus the *three Children* would not worship the *Golden Image*, for all the strictness of the *Kings Commandment*, Dan. 3. 4, 15, 16, 18. and *Daniel* would not omit his daily Prayers to God, notwithstanding thereby at his utmost peril, he broke *Darius's Royal Edict*, Dan. 6. 7, ad 10. And when Christ had commanded the Apostles \* to go and preach to all Nations, they would not desist when the Jews forbid it, saying, *Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye*, Acts 4. 17, 18, 19. and the *Primitive Christians*, those renowned Patterns of Loyalty, though they would never raise Rebellions against their Princes, yet stood out in a continual and invincible breach of their wicked Laws, refusing obstinately either to *Curse Christ*, or to *Sacrifice to Idols*, when they were required thereto by their Heathen Governours. When any Kings Laws run thus against Gods Laws, non-compliance and holding out is a grace, which the more resolved it is, the better it is. Nay, that *Boldness* and undaunted

\* Matth  
28.19,20.



*ted Face* in opposition , which in case of lawful Impositions, is a most *criminal Impudence*, is in this case a *peculiar Gift of the Holy Ghost*, which was beg'd by the *Apostles* when under the Threatnings of the *Jewish Rulers*, they desired *Grace to speak the word with boldness*, Acts 4. 29. which, according to that Prayer, was afterwards most eminent in *themselves* and the *Primitive Confessors* ; which God still bestow'd when he call'd men to suffer for him in *after Ages* : and which I doubt not but he will still bestow when he shall please to call any Churches to suffer for him, to the end of the World.

Thus are the things of Religion Gods things, wherein all men are still to follow him, though the Powers of the World being erroneously mislead , should have the misfortune both to practise themselves, and to injoyn their Subjects too to practice otherwise.

The onely Caution I think fit to be added in this case is, *that we do not make those things Religion which are not so*, as not *Kneeling at the Communion*, not using the Cross in *Baptism*, not joyning in a *Form of Prayers*,  
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and the like. True Religion doth not stick at these and such like indifferent things : For God makes Religion , and he has no where forbid the use of them, but may be served by them as *truly*, and oft-times more *becomingly* than without them. So that when our Governours require onely such things as these, they intrench not at all upon Religion and the Rights of God, but we may lawfully obey them, and then we must do it. If they command against him , in that we are to desert them, because we are to follow him in Religion. But then we must take care, that what we call Religion be not a point of mans Invention, that it be some Article of the holy Scriptures, and not of our own Fancy, some thing which is a Religion of Gods, and not of our own making.

Thus must we hold firm to God in things of Religion ; and therefore *as the pretence of Religion must never lead any to be ill Subjects* : So neither, when Princes happen to be mislead in Religion, *must the pretence of Loyalty ever draw them to err and be ill Christians*. When Subjects are most Loyal to their Prince, in paying him all Honour, and

Obedience, and submissive Carriage, they must not embrace his Errours, nor conform to his Opinion and Practice in Religion, if they happen to be different from what the Scripture teaches. This is no act of disloyalty to a Prince, to be true to Almighty God, and both to *believe* and *practise* as he would have us. All Loyalty to the King must consist with true Religion towards God, since the King is onely God's Vicegerent. This was the belief of our *Saviour Christ*, and of his *Apostles*, and of all the *Saints* and *Servants of God in all Ages*. And it will always be the opinion of every man, whose Conscience is not debauched with Atheistical Principles, but knows he has a *God* as well as a *King* to serve.

Having thus stated what are the *things of God*, and what the *things of Cesar*, and shown how the pretended care and zeal for the one can never exempt us from the other; I shall now very briefly exhort you to a careful observance of what has been delivered, and so conclude.

Since God and the King then must both have what belongs to them; and God, who is most jealous of his own Honour, will

will not have mens Zeal even for that to transport them against the just Rights of *Cesar* ; let me exhort all that hear me to have a watchful eye to both these , and that what God has put together, they would not set asunder. Be careful to give God all the Honour that is due to him, and to do it with Constancy, Zeal, and Affection. But when you are most zealous for the Honour of God, be careful to preserve an inviolable Duty to your Prince too, who is *Gods Vice-gerent*. Shew your selves hearty and steady *Protestants* , that is Gods Cause , wherein you may and should be zealous ; but at the same time be sure to shew your selves *good Subjects*, and *good Christians*. Let not your Zeal for Protestancy bereave you of your Loyalty or Christianity , and make you forget either your Duty to your Governours, or that Charity which you owe your Neighbours ; even those who are most opposite in Religion to your selves. This is to act by a Primitive Spirit like sincere Servants of Christ, and true Members of the *Church of England* ; to whose Eternal Honour it may be said, that the Clergy,  
and



and true Members of it, beyond what is ordinary in other Churches, are careful to shew such a just and well-governed Zeal for Almighty God, as dare not fly in the Face of the King, or be unchristianly violent against their Brethren for Gods sake. They are, and by their Principles should be zealous against Popery. But at the same time they are zealous against Rebellion and Disloyalty, one of the most mischievous things in Popery, and against all unchristian usage and uncharitableness to men of different Perswasions, which the unbridled Zeal of Papists and Sectaries too commonly transports them to.

And then, as for you my *Reverend Brethren*, who are intrusted with the Ministry of Religion, let me particularly recommend the things of God and Religion to your care, that you would labour to make men true to God, that they may be true to the King for Gods sake. Stir them up, not onely to like Religion, or to be *Luke-warm*, which God \* told *the Church of Laodicea* was *loathsome*; but to be concerned and zealous in it. And that they may

\* Rev. 3.  
16.

may not be all Heat without Light, nor their Zeal outrun their Knowledge; endeavour to possess them with right Notions of it, letting them see that Religion lies in *Faith* and *Practice*, in *Believing all the Articles of the Creed*, and *Keeping the Commandments and Laws of God*. Suffer them not to place *Religion* in little things, to embrace Shadows for a Substance, and to think either to please or displease God by such frivolous and inconsiderable things, as are unworthy of any Wise mans Notice; which needless Scrupulosity of Mind, will not onely prove a Snare to themselves, but inevitably render them troublesome to their Governours, and very detrimental to the Publick Peace. And when they are thus rightly instructed in *Religion*, and made true to Almighty God; be diligent to weed out all Seditious Principles, to make Civil Subjection as necessary a part of their *Religion*, and as much a Point of Conscience, as Prayers and Gods immediate Service. In a word, to let them see the Necessity, the Duty, and the Benefit of being inviolably Loyal and true to the King too.

I know the Judgements of great numbers are preposessed on the wrong side, and leavened with ill Principles, instilled by cunning Seducers into many well-meaning but unwary Minds, both about the things of God, and of the King too. For as for the things of the King, through an habitual and indulged License, many are come without regret to question any thing that is in favour of their Governours; to put remote and Imaginary Cases, in Bar of present, real, and unquestionable Duties; to Cavil and Dispute Power, when they should be shewing Obedience; nay, to avow such Principles as inevitably unsettle any State, and authorize the most bare-faced Rebellions, as, God knows, we have newly felt by sad Experience; which would have been much sadder still, had not the Wisdom and Goodness of God confounded the Craft, and defeated the mischievousness of men, in our late happy, speedy, and, in appearance, intire Deliverance from them. And then as for Religion, great numbers of those who are concerned for it, either place it in trifling Truths, or in  
ground-

grounleſs and untrue Opinions ; and where they are moſt miſtaken, they are uſually moſt confident and concerned , and ſhew more Zeal for thoſe empty and unprofitable Nothings where they think wrong , than for all the grand and important Truths of their Religion where they believe right. Theſe ill Weeds have in too many marr'd the Soyl which I am entreating you to cultivate. And what pains it may have coſt others to ſow theſe evil Seeds, and give them root, I know not : But now they are in poſſeſſion , and are rivited in the Minds of Men, I know it will coſt you much Pains and Patience too, to pluck them out. But this, my Reverend Brethren , though it will exerciſe your care , yet muſt not diſcourage it. Let not us ſhew leſs diligence to cure Mens Minds, than others have done to corrupt them. Let not the goodneſs of our Cauſe ſuffer through our remiſneſs, and want of care in managing it. Subſtantial Religion and Loyalty are true and mighty, and will prevail at laſt. But without your care and pains, who are appointed Advocates for them , and are of all

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men,



men, as most concerned, so best fitted to uphold them, they will not be prevalent. May the Almighty God daily increase your Zeal, and both direct your Labours, and prosper them in so good a Work : That you may not onely be rewarded for the honesty of your Endeavours, when Jesus Christ *the Chief Shepherd*, and *Bishop* of the Church, as *St. Peter* \* styles him, shall come at last ; but may at present see the Fruit, and rejoyce in the Success of them too. *Amen.*

\* 1 Pet. 5.  
4. & 1 Pet.  
2. 25.

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✓  
CHRISTIANITY,

A

DOCTRINE

OF THE

CROSS:

OR,

Passive Obedience,

UNDER ANY

Pretended Invasion of LEGAL  
RIGHTS and LIBERTIES.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for *Jos. Hindmarsh*, and *Rob. Kettlewell*, and are  
to be sold at the *Golden Ball* in *Cornhill*. 1691.



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T O T H E  
R E A D E R.

**I**T is a sad Reflection to a true Christian Spirit, to see some of the noblest Virtues of our Holy Religion, and Points of Good Practice, not only neglected in the Lives, but endeavoured to be driven out of the Reverence and Esteem of Christians. Among these, I think none of late have bore more of the rude Batteries of Noise and Violence, or fallen deeper under the Wanton Sport or Malicious Strokes of Profane Wits, than the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*.

I take it to be an unquestionable Gospel Truth, and Primitive Doctrine. And to carry in it the most lively exercise and expression, of the two grand Virtues, of *Faith*, and *Patience*. It is *Faith*, that under persecuting or oppressive Governors, rather than save our selves by sinning against God or them, dare run Ventures, and trust or rely on him, either to prevent those Persecutions and outward Losses, that are ready to meet us in this steadfastness to our Duty, or to support us under them, and abundantly Com-

To the Reader.

penfate and Reward us for them. And it is *Patience*, that bears all the preſſing Conflicts without Fainting, till the Grace of God has brought us through them. And theſe two Virtues, raiſe us ſo much above our ſelves, and this World; or above Human Weakneſſes, Affections, and Interests: that God has always dignified, them with eſpecial Marks, and Prerogatives of his Favor and Acceptance. And on the ſame account, good Men have ever held them, as the brighteſt Glory of the Saints, and what they were moſt ambitiouſly to aim at. As on the other Hand, for the ſame Reason, they have ever been the greateſt Terror and Stumbling-Block, to Worldly and Carnal Minds.

My deſign in the enſuing Papers, is to do what reaſonable Service I am able, to this great and noble inſtance, of Oppreſſed Truth and Righteouſneſs. And becauſe, after all that has been ſo often, and ſo well ſaid of late upon this Subject by others, particularly in the Elaborate and much Celebrated Diſcourſes, of *Jovian*, and the *Caſe of Reſiſtance of the Supreme Powers Stated*, &c. The Adverſaries of this Truth ſtill inſiſt with great Confidence and Triumph, upon the Plea of *Legal Rights for Authorizing Reſiſtance*; I have ſingled out this Plea, and Diſcuſ'd it in the enſuing Treatiſe. My aim is, not ſo much to ingage in particular and perſonal Diſputes, as to ſpeak to the Argument; and to ſay ſo much, as among Minds willing to ſee it, may be ſufficient to Prove and Eſta-  
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*To the Reader.*

blish a Doctrine so necessary, as that whereof I write, and to obviate the most Colorable Pretences brought against it. *Passive Obedience*, is a great, and Practical Truth: and I seek herein, by setting it off with as much Strength and Clearness, and withal as briefly as I can, to build up honestly disposed Readers in the Belief and Practice thereof, notwithstanding any things, which, either in pretended *Favor to Religion*, or on any fancied *Authority from Civil Right*, they shall find urged in opposition to it.

I must advertise thee further, that this Treatise was sent away in Company of another, Intituled, *Of Christian Prudence*, &c. And being both then prepared, and designed for the Press, there is a Reference to it in Page 160. of that Book. Which, not being observed by those, who had the care thereof, (the Author himself being at a great distance from the Press,) that Book was Published first, and this was left to follow it. And now it is come abroad, I beseech Almighty God of his Infinite Mercy to vouchsafe it his Acceptance, and to accompany it with his Grace, that it may not fail to do an Holy Religion some Honor, a Noble, but decried and exploded Duty, some Credit, and thy Self and his Church some Service.



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# CHRISTIANITY

A

## DOCTRINE

OF THE

# CROSS.

**P** *Assive Obedience* to Sovereign Powers, is keeping under their Obedience, when we suffer wrongfully at their hands. If they command things against the Law of God, or of the Land, we ought not ; or if against the inviolable Liberties, which Laws have secured against the Prerogative in their respective Kingdoms, we need not ordinarily be *Active*, in doing what we are bidden. In other things, a just and lawful Authority must have *Active Obedience*. But when they come to punish against Laws, or for such things as with a safe Conscience their Subjects could not act in; they are still to continue under their Obedience, and in a state of Subjection. And this is by *being Passive*, or not rising up to Resist, and Levy War against them. They may seek to guard off the unjust Suffering, by Petitioning, by claiming the help of Law from Courts of Justice, whilst there are any Provisions for help yet untryed therein, or by any other fitting ways consistent

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with Subjection. But not by running to Arms when all other ways fail, and by lifting Soldiers, (for no Man will stand in Arms by himself against him,) to defend their own Rights against their lawful Sovereign. Whilst a Prince is our lawful Sovereign, Obedience must be *Due* to him; and whilst we are under his Obedience, we must be *Passive*, and have no liberty in this sort to resist him.

This Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance, seems both most plainly prescribed by the Precepts, and most suitable to the Spirit and Genius of Holy Religion.

The *Fifth* Commandment, under the name of *Honor*, enjoins both *Reverence* and *Support* of Princes, as our Politick *Fathers*. But when Subjects make War upon them, instead of paying *Fear* and *Reverence*, they are plainly in a state of *bidding Defiance*: and when the Sword is unsheathed against them, that is evidently not for their *Support*, but for the *beating and pulling of them Down*.

Put them in mind, saith \* S. Paul, to obey Magistrates. But there is most visibly an end of Obedience, when things are come to this pass; and Men under command cannot possibly do any thing more contrary to shewing Obedience, than to *rise and fall* upon their Commanders.

Submit, † says S. Peter, to every ordinance of man. Yea, Let every soul be subject, || saith S. Paul. But what becomes of submission, when they fall thus to resisting? For every Man must needs be sensible, he doth no longer submit to another, when he stands up to resist and fight against him.

Christianity, is a *Doctrine of the Cross*, which is one of its Distinguishing Marks; nothing, in account thereof, being more necessary, more proper, and praise-worthy, than for Christians, to \* *take up*, and *bear Crosses*. Whence came those Crosses, so much as from the Persecuting Powers? And if the Crosses, which Christians profess to bear, are such as Persecuting Sovereigns

\* Mat. x.

38.

Luk. ix.

23.

Mat. xvi.

24

Luk. xiv.

27.

† 1 Pet. ii.

13.

|| Rom.

xiii. 1.

\* Tit. iii. 1.

vereigns lay on: it is plain they profess not to Resist, which is out of the way of bearing, but to shew Passive Obedience under them. For there is an end of taking up, and bearing Crosses, when, instead of taking up and bearing, Men set themselves with all their might to shake them off, or beat them back again.

These passages, and such like, do sufficiently bear out the Duty of *Non-Resistance*, even to the most ordinary Understandings, if they will but attend to them. Besides, that S. Paul has † told us in express terms, that *they who resist the Higher Powers, shall receive to themselves damnation.* † Rom. xiii. 2.

All this was true, say the Advocates of Resistance, at those times, and in those Cases, for which these Rules were given. But those were, where the wills of Governors were Laws, or where the Laws brought Crosses: not where the Laws, as it is with us, are a Cover against them. Religion it self, say they, doth not authorise Resistance; but *Civil Right* doth. And if Religion is by Law made a *Civil Right*, we may Resist for it, as we may for other Civil Rights and Properties. Not being bound by any of these Precepts, to bear Crosses which the Law keeps off. Nor tyed to submission, under invasion of Civil Rights, which carry with them a power to rise in Defence thereof.

This Plea, is set up as the main strength of || those, that argue against the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*. And my design is particularly to Discuss it, and to inquire whether the Precepts and Obligations to Passive Obedience, were given and kept, with an exception of these Invasions of Civil Rights, or with a design to bind under them, and as a Rule to Christians, whilst they suffered such Invasions.

This way of Warlike Resistance, is a very hazardous course, and thereby Men extremely expose their own

|| *Inquiry into the measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority, Art. 9. 12. Discourse about the Justice of the Gentlemens undertaking at York, Nov. 1688. p. 4, 5, 6, 7. & passim. Julian the Apostate, c. 9. p. 74. 92. And the Answer to Jovian, p. 160. And several others.*

Persons. And that which tempts them thus to hazard themselves, as the most serious are wont to profess, is their Affection for Religion. Like as that, which is given out to justify them therein, is its being made a Civil Right, or Legal Constitution. And I shall endeavour to shew them, that *Religion gets no good by it*: so they are mistaken in the way of shewing their Affection. And that *its being a Civil Right, will not warrant them therein*: so they will miss also of their Justification. The former I shall not pass over, without saying so much, as I think sufficient to undeceive the honest and well meaning. But the clearing of the later, is what I principally design.

## C H A P. I.

*No Arming against Sovereign Powers, in love for Religion.*

**T**O take off the pretence, and temptation to war-like Resistance against the Sovereign Powers, for the sake of Religion, I shall shew in the first place, that *this Rising in Arms, is no wise expression, of Mens care and kindness for true Religion.*

*Religion, is an internal thing.* It doth not hang without us, as the things of the world; but is inward, in the mind. It is lodged in our hearts, and is to dwell upon our Spirits. *The Kingdom of God is within you,* says our Saviour, *Luk. xvii. 2.* It consists in a † *New Nature,* and the *Renewal of the mind,* says S. Paul, *Rom. xii. 2.* It lies in *Faith and Obedience,* which are Spiritual and internal things. Their Power, and Excellence, take life from, and are seated in the inner Man: though they are expressed and made visible, in the outward Conversation.

† Jo. iii. 3.  
and 2 Cor.  
v. 17.

And

## Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross.

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And depending thus purely upon our own Minds, it may equally subsist under all the alterations of this World, whether Prosperity or Adversity, Peace or Persecutions. To believe, and to do Right, which is the whole of Religion, is alike practicable under all times, and in all Circumstances. And whether we shall do thus or no, is not in the power of others, but, under God, only of our own wills. This makes the rewardableness of Faith and Obedience, that they are to be the Oblation of our own good will, and we are to chuse them. It also shews the Excellence thereof, that, depending on our own will, nothing else, which can never force our wills, can rob us of them. These virtues, lodged in a truly good heart, are like *a Treasure laid up in Heaven, where no thief can break through, or steal*, Mat. vi. 20. No Powers, that can force away from us any outward things, are able to storm our Hearts, or force what is within us, viz. a *Good Conscience*, or that *Joy and Peace*, which is the consequent thereof. *Your joy*, says our Lord to his Disciples, *no man taketh from you*, Jo. xvi. 22.

And from this, I shall note *two* Points fit to be considered in this case.

*First, Others force, can never make us lose Religion.* For no force can reach it, not being placed among things, that are liable to be forced away, but lodged in the Heart. Any outward force upon us, must stop at the outside of us: or, if it pierce further, it will force away our Lives, before it reach our Hearts. Nay, when it comes there, it may force our Hearts out of our Bodies; but it cannot force our Religion out of our Hearts, unless we please. Our Hearts, where Religion reigns, are only in the hand of God, and of our selves.

Indeed, Religion, whilst professed in this World, by the blessing of God, has oft much of the encouragements of this World. And these worldly advantages  
and



and encouragements, are subject to the same force as all other worldly things, and may be taken away by violence. And the losing of what is worldly about Religion, in the eye of worldly Wisdom is the losing of Religion. It thinks Religion is gone, when the worldly Recompences and Inducements about it are: and that to keep Religion in the Land, it must be sure to keep them here. And accordingly, when Persecution comes, whose business is to force away these worldly goods from Religion, it asks, What will become of Religion? But all this while it considers not, that Religion is a spiritual thing, which can subsist without these worldly encouragements: that it looks all at another World, and so can continue the same it was, when bereft of all the good things of this World: that, tho it may have things without in possession, yet is it none of them; but lives it self and is lodged within, where no force can come, but where it can keep whether outward Force will or no. What would these worldly wise men have said, had they lived in the days of *Christ* and his *Apostles*? For then they would have been called to embrace Religion, and at the same time to leave this World; and have seen Religion thrive, when it had nothing worldly about it: and all that Persecution can do at any time, is only to bring it into this, which was its Primitive State. But Religion is not lost then, but kept and upheld, and subsists as truly as it did the first day it appeared, and all the time it was growing up, and making its way over all that opposed it, in the unconverted World. This, in Christianity must pass for a certain Maxim, that, *The ill Arts, to keep off Persecution, may, and in Gods just Judgment ordinarily do; yet Persecution it self never shall destroy the Church.* Our blessed Lord has given us his own word for this; *The gates of Hell, i. e. all the powers of Darknes, shall not prevail against the Church.*

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Mat. xvi. 18. and Persecution is one of their main and strongest Batteries.

Yea, Persecution doth not waste, but improve and increase Religion. It destroys it, among worldly wise men, who are driven from any thing by worldly Considerations. So that if any are religious only, or mainly from worldly motives, they will quit and give it up for worldly losses: and worldly Wisdom, rating who will keep, or who will forego it, only on worldly prospects; it concludes Religion, if not quite lost, must needs be mightily brought down, almost to nothing, by Persecutions.

But 'tis otherwise, in the eye of Spiritual Prudence. For that knows it, as I say, to be seated in mens hearts, and free wills; and so to be without the reach of outward force and devastations. And that its genuine and proper supports, which it stands on there, are not the good things of this, but the future hopes and expectations of another World, which no Persecutors can take from us. So that when they have done their worst, and despoiled us of what is most valuable in this World; yet all that is still left, which *Jesus Christ* the Author thereof has offered to support it. Nay, that, instead of being abated, is heightened, by what they take from us. Because, the more we suffer for our Duty here, the more we are to hope, and expect to receive hereafter. The other world, which is to make men religious, and to support Religion, is not only as much, but a great deal more for us, when we are under Persecutions, than when we are under none.

Indeed Persecution, leaving no external visible support, is the truest Tryal of Pretenders to Religion, and discovers, who follow it mainly for the sake of what is not its own, viz. *Present indemnity at least, if not recompence and encouragement*; and who, for the sake of what is, viz. *future and unseen Rewards*. They are a  
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Touch-stone, to try Hearts and Tempers, *that they who are approved*, as S. Paul says in case of *Heresies* and *Schisms*, may be made manifest, 1 Cor. xi. 19. Accordingly in the Scriptures, we read of *Tryals* and *Temptations*, meaning Persecutions, 1 Cor. x. 13. Jam. i. 2. and of the *fiery Tryal*, or Furnace of Affliction, that

† *In primis Deo digna, & ut ita dixerim, necessaria, ad Probationem scilicet Servorum ejus, sive reprobationem.* Tertull. de fug. in Persec. c. 1.

finishes and purges the Gold from the Dross, 1 Pet. iv. 12. † *Persecution is not only most worthy of God, but, as I may so say, necessary to him, for the probation or reprobation of his Servants*, says Tertul.

And making this discrimination, it will lessen the number of the external Professors of Religion. It strikes off all the seed sown in thorny ground, which can be choaked by the cares of this World, Mat. xiii. 7. 22. And those on the stony ground too, who have no sufficient Root of Religion, but too much of this World, and whose Root, lying almost at the Surface, is soon scorched and parched up when the heat of Persecution comes,

|| *Pala illa quæ & nunc Dominicam aream purgat, ecclesiam scilicet, confusum acervum fidelium eventilans, frumentum Martyrum, & paleas Negatorum.* ib.

ver. 5. 6. 21. It is the Fan, as || Tertullian says, that purges the Lords floor, winnowing the Church, which till then is a confused heap of Professors, and separating the Chaff and light Corn from the good Wheat, the nominal from the real,

the Christians of this World from those of a better.

But it takes off no Right Christians, who are not Right, so long as any thing can make them desert their Saviour, or any Duty of his Religion, when they are call'd by him to own and stick to them. *If any man love Father or Mother, or his own Life more than me, he is not worthy of me.* Mat. x. 37. 39. Luc. xiv. 26. *If he take not his Cross and follow me, he is not worthy of me.* Mat. x. 38. *If he doth not bear his Cross and come after me, he cannot be my Disciple.* Luk. xiv. 27.

As for those who are right true Christians, Persecution perfects them. It takes them off from fleshly delights, and cures their inordinate love and complacence in, or hankerings after this World. It makes them sit loose to it, and have a generous contempt thereof. It heightens their pious Resolutions, instead of abating them; it doth not stop their Carier in duty, but enliven it. It begets in them a triumphant disdain of the Injuries or Reproaches, that are thrown upon them for doing a good thing; and a complacence in the Cross, instead of a displeasure with themselves, when it meets them in a good Cause. For in these Sufferings, having the support of God's Promises, the comfort of his Spirit, and the applause of a good Conscience; they are not only patient under their Lot, but satisfied with it: they do not only bear their Burden, but glory and rejoyce therein. *Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you for righteousness sake. Rejoyce then and be exceeding glad,* says our Lord, Mat. v. 10, 11, 12. Luc. vi. 22, 23. *Count it not strange, but rejoyce, in as much as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings, that ye may be also of his glory.* Under such Sufferings, happy are ye, for the spirit of God rests upon you, says S. Peter, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13, 14. Accordingly, says S. Paul, *I take pleasure in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christs sake,* 2 Cor. xii. 10. and the *Hebrews took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing they had in Heaven, a better and more enduring substance.* Heb. x. 34. A state of Persecution, is the most advantageous time for a Christian to appear perfect in; and passive Virtues, are the best Ornament, and most compleat Dress, wherein he can shew and recommend himself. He is never so good, so glorious, and great, as when he is bravely and undauntedly doing his Duty, and confessing under the Cross of Christ. Nay, put the worst that can come, that such a religious man be cut off, and dye for his



Religion: yet even then must no man prophanely ask, *What is become of Religion?* For that is then become which should become of it, viz. to carry the Professors thereof to be everlastingly happy in Heaven. And by their dying for it, which is more, no hurt but good will come to Religion among those that survive.

For Persecution, as it perfects, so it spreads and propagates truly religious men. If Religion thereby loses out-side Professors, it gets sincere and faithful Followers. The Church loses not so much by the Sufferings; as it gets by the Examples of the holy and *blessed Martyrs*. For these strangely affect, and strike upon the Spirits of men. Their Faith, and Patience, and other noble Virtues, shew men the power, and excite their curiosity, and mightily dispose them to hearken, and inquire into the truth of what they suffer for. So that *Semen est sanguis Christianorum*, the blood of the Martyrs was the seed of the Church, as † *Tertullian* says they found by experience in the Sufferings of the ancient Church. These influenced, not only the weak, but the wisest persons, bringing in such as *Justin*, that renown'd Philosopher and Martyr, to see and receive the Truth; the great occasion of his Conversion, as he \* himself relates, being that Constancy and religious Bravery the Martyrs shew'd in their Sufferings. There is a witness in the blood of Saints, that begets Faith in Beholders: and therefore among the Three, that bear Witness to Christ on Earth, S. John reckons the blood for one; the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, meaning thereby their Sufferings in his Cause. 1 Jo. v. 8. And S. Paul, noting the signs of an Apostle, who was to persuade and get belief in others, tells the *Corinthians*, they were wrought among them in all patience. 2 Cor. xii. 12. Their Sufferings, were one proof of their being Gods Ministers. In all things, saith he, approving our selves as the Ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, necessities, distresses,

† *Apol.*  
c. ult. &  
*Justin.*  
*Mart. ad*  
*Diognet.*  
p. 498,  
499 &  
*Dial. cum*  
*Tryph.* p.  
337. &  
*Lact. l.* 5.  
c. 13.  
\* *Apol.* 1.  
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fires, and Persecutions of every sort, as well as by the word of truth, and by the gifts of Miracles or the power of God, 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, 7. The Patterns and the Prayers, the passive Graces and Sufferings of the primitive Saints and Martyrs, as well as their Preaching and miraculous powers were a cause that spread Religion so strangely under the primitive Persecutions: instead of cutting off, it was really a Widener, and a true prolifick Principle and Seed of the Church.

Thus doth God turn this great rule of worldly Wisdom into mere Folly. In this, he absolutely confounds the wisdom of the Wise, and takes the fleshly Wise, as the Scripture says, in their own craftiness, and demonstrates how the Wisdom of this World is Foolishness with God. 1 Cor. iii. 19, 20. When Persecutions go to destroy the Religious, they do not pull down, but propagate and advance Religion. When they destroy and cut off some, they drive in more, and Religion gets new ones in their room. It loses none but out-side or insincere Professors, but increases in the number of hearty and upright Followers, who are the true honor of Religion and ornament of the Church.

From this I observe, how we must not say with worldly wise men, that worldly ease and immunities are best for Religion. Indeed, outward Peace and Privileges, are things very valuable and acceptable to its Professors, as their place of professing it is here in this World, and whilst they bear about them fleshly Natures. But, as we must thankfully value, and improve it, when we have it; so must we consider too, that Religion it self, and the Spirit, (tho the Flesh be of another mind) may be bettered by the want thereof. And therefore, that is but fit in this case, to leave God to take his own way, and chuse for us. And if at any time he is bringing Persecution on, 'tis not for us to step out of his way to keep it off, and excuse our selves by saying, it is better for Religion. For when was it

ever better for the Church, than in the *first Ages*, when they run thro the most, and sorest Persecutions? Is not that best for the Church, which makes the most and the best good Christians? And when were they more, or better, in the places where Christianity prevail'd, than in those first and persecuting Ages? Were not those times, a continual, and vast increase, of fresh Converts? And were not those Converts of much better and more Christian Lives, under this Discipline of Persecutions, than others use to be in times of Peace and secular Advantages?

And on the other hand, to abate the advantage of worldly Peace and Possessions, are not they too liable to carnalize and corrupt the Spirits of men? Do not the worldly Possessions, which were design'd to encourage men in the way and ministry of Religion, too oft steal their hearts away from it? and then, when a Persecution comes for any necessary Truth or Duties sake, instead of being a friend and support, are not they an Enemy within the Walls, to betray and deliver it up? The sad experience of such general and shameful Defections from religious Truths, to hold their worldly Possessions, made *Faustinus* and *Marcellinus* in their Book of Prayers to the Emperors, to call them \* *Perniciosissimas possessiones*, most pernicious Possessions; yea † *to wish, that the Church had never been possessed of them, that living after the manner of the Apostles, it might still have more inviolably possessed the integrity of the Faith.* I know there are many great and valuable Advantages by *worldly Possessions*, for which the Church has great cause to be thankful to God, and all its Benefactors: but these, in trying times, are advantages only to wise men, who have rais'd Affections, and retain a true spirituality of mind, and contempt of the World, in the midst of all secular enjoyments; being, on such occasions, the greatest snare and bane to all others. So that the advantage pleadable from these, is only to those who can

\* *Libell. Precum*  
p. 8.

† *Quas utinam nunquam possederet ecclesia, ut Apostolico more vivens fidem integram inviolabiliter consideret.*  
ib. p. 2.  
Ed. Ox.

can let them go for Religion, and love God and their Duty above them. And when God sends Persecution, it is both the School wherein to shew forth this raised temper of mind, and wherein to improve and perfect it. 'Tis not for us therefore to say, it is better for Religion, but only for Flesh and Blood whilst they profess Religion, to be out of Persecution. For when God sees fit to send it upon his Church, as he always doth when they cannot shun it without Sin: he designs, and will undoubtedly effect it, to purge and purifie, to perfect and promote, true and acceptable Religion and Godliness thereby. And all that *loses*, is only mixt and mongrel Professors, and our own worldly and carnal selves.

Such, is the real importance of Persecution, to Religion and the Church. It gets more thereby, than it loses. It is deprived of nominal, mixt Professors; but augmented with better Christians. Tho it should shew fewer Professors; yet can it at such times produce more, and more perfect Saints, and Heirs of eternal Happiness. It takes from its faithful Followers, worldly things, not spiritual; present, not future. So that it destroys, or lessens it, only in the opinion of worldly minds or fleshly prudence, who look only at what is kept or lost of this Worlds goods and advantages: but advances, confirms, and multiplies it in the Opinion of the spiritually minded, and according to the estimate of true *Christian* Prudence.

Like to this, of others *Force* not making us lose Religion, is another Observation, of others *Force not hindring the effect of our Ministry*. This is wont to be one Plea at such times. For as the People are ready to say, they take Arms against their persecuting Prince, that they may not be deprived of the benefit of their Ministers: so among the Ministers themselves, are some tempted to stretch and go greater lengths in compliance therewith, than they think their duty allows, on  
*pretence*



pretence of serving God, and keeping in to do good in their places. If we stick at this, say some, what will become of our Ministry, and the exercise thereof? and what way can we have, to do God service in our Stations.

Now, If this has any force at all, it seems to be against Gods own ordering, as if in this disposal of Providence, he had called us from a better way to a worse, and in debarring and discharging us from our former Stations, (as he doth, when we can no longer hold them without sin,) had summoned us to a less useful Post to serve him in. But a mind that truly and sincerely seeks to serve God, and not, under an hypocritical pretence thereof, to serve its worldly interells, will easily give him leave, when he sees fit, to change the scene of our service, and to chalk out and call us, as he pleases, to the place where, and the Station in which he will be served. And besides, the external force, tho it drive us out of our Stations, will not take us away at such times, from doing him service. For, besides what we have opportunity then to do for him, we may serve him more by suffering in a good way, than we ever should be able to do by keeping our Stations through a bad one. Nay, our sufferings for a good Cause, may be like to be of more real use and influence, than all our Preaching up the same Cause might be, without suffering. There is a Witness in the Blood, as I observed, and a persuasiveness in the sufferings of Martyrs and Confessors, which affects and convinces more, than any words or Sermons they could use. Let us then, on such occasions, take care to suffer *Christianly*, and leave it to Gods care to supply any want of us in our Stations, and to serve himself by our sufferings, more than it were possible for us to serve him by any other ways.

And as others Force, can never make us lose Religion: so neither

Secondly, *When Force and Persecution comes upon Religion*, especially from our Governors, in the Eye of Spiritual

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ritual Wisdom, is our armed Resistance, or encountering Force by Force, a way to defend and preserve Religion.

If our Force be a way to preserve any thing at such times, it is the worldly appendages of Religion: viz. our Secular Profits, Civil Liberties, Powers, Honors, and other Advantages, which the Laws have conferred and settled in favor of the Truth, and given the Professors thereof a Title to. What it can have any pretence to, is to guard worldly things, possessed by Religious Men, as they are Members of this World, as well as Professors of Religion. And if it come in to guard worldly things, it is on the score of worldly Prudence, and is made use of by the Religious, not as *Religious*, but as *worldly-wise*. Tho, as to Publick Force for redress of Publick Grievances, however to the aggrieved, before they have tried, it may seem otherwise; I think it is a most unwise course: and instead of preserving what part of those worldly things was endangered, it brings all into much greater danger, and to secure one part, throws away several. Adding only this for our Recompence, that instead of losing and suffering a little, against the grain of our angry Passions; it throws us into the suffering of a great deal more, but in the pleasure and pursuit of them.

But as to Religion, it is *not outward Force*, but *Faith and Patience, Prayer and good Practice*; which is the way to preserve it. This may seem a Riddle in the Eye of worldly Wisdom, and pats not for the Prudence, but for the folly of Religious Men. But this *foolishness of God*, as the *Apostle* speaks, *is wiser than men*; and this seeming *weakness of God*, *is stronger than any boasted force of men*, 1. Cor. i. 25. And when their magnified ways, by Humane Confidences, and an Arm of Flesh, instead of preserving, betray and undermine the Religion they fight for, and these *worldly-wise* are not delivered by, as they promised themselves, but *taken in their own Craftiness*: this despised way of Faith, and Patience,

Patience, and good Prayers, which builds on God and not upon our selves, and which he counts wise, though they count foolish, is found not only to preserve, but to promote it, and to make it glorious and triumphant. Thus it did in greater Tryals and Persecutions, than any God has proved his Church withal in these later Ages. And it will still have the same effect, to those who dare trust God with Religion and themselves, and allow his Providence and Promises, to make up to them, what Humane appearances do to Carnal Politician. *In your Patience, possess ye your souls, or preserve ye them,* the word *κτενετε* sometimes, as *Mat. x. 9.* noting not our Possessing, but acquiring. *Per tolerantiam salvos facietis vosmetipsos*, as † *Tertullian* cites this place. That is, *by your sufferance or patience, you shall make your selves safe*, says *Christ* to his Disciples, when that Patience, seemed not the way to possess and preserve, but to expose them. *Luke xxi. 19.* *He that will save his life shall lose it; and he that will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it*, said he in those times, when Mens necessities, would make them listen after all Human Arts and Devices, to save themselves. *Luke ix. 24.* *In returning and rest, shall you be saved, in quietness and confidence shall be your strength, your strength is to sit still*, said God by *Isaiah* to the Jews, when, in their distreis, they were promising themselves more relief from the unlawful aid of *Egypt*, and from tumultuary ways. *Is. xxx. 7. 15.*

† Adv.  
Marc. l. 4.  
c. 39.

This is to be taken off, indeed, from Human strengths, and staid on Providence. But that makes it only a greater tryal of Faith; not a weaker remedy and method of relief. For when all is done, the last and best security is *Providence*. And the surest way to fix that in our favour, is this of *Faith* and *Patience*. *Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is staid on thee, because he trusteth in thee*, *Is. xxvi. 3.* And the Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of temptations, who rely on him by keeping in his ways; and to reserve the unjust unto the day

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day of judgment to be punished: i. e. by just judgment and ill event on their ill ways here, as well as hereafter; as it happened, not long after this, with the *Gnosticks*, whom in the next words he describes, those most Carnal Politicians, and ungodly temporizers of that Age, 2 Pet. ii. 9.

Certainly, † says *S. Chrysostom*, speaking of this Pre-† Homil. 34. in Mat. in c. x. 16. Be ye wise as Serpents, &c. scription of our Lord, which the profane Spirits of this Age call a Mountebank Receipt, or of putting on the Mansuetude of Sheep, and the Simplicity of Doves, when we are sent out in the midst of Wolves: certainly, says he, as many of us, as shew forth the Mansuetude of Sheep, shall easily overcome our Enemies. Yea, though innumerable Wolves compass us about on every side, we shall be preserved safe, and get the better of them. But if, instead of continuing like Sheep among Wolves, we turn Wolves our selves, and put on wolfish Natures; then are we like to be overcome, as being left to our selves. For, then the Shepherd withdraws his help from us, who feeds and watches over the Sheep only, not over the Wolves. When thou turnest thy self into a Wolf, away he presently goes, and leaves thee, as one that reliest no longer on his strength, but beginnest to trust to thy own, and suffereest not his Power to be made manifest in thee. For when, being vexed with injuries, thou suffereest all with a mild and equal mind, not standing up to fight for thy self, but trusting to him to fight for thee: thou attributeest to him the whole triumph of the day. But if, instead of suffering like a Sheep, thou shalt stand up to tear and devour like a Wolf, and go out and fight against the Enemy: by that thou hidest and darkenest the glory of his Victory. — Though this way of Simplicity and Patience, seem to Men the most unmeet to Cure, or Guard against our Persecutors violence: yet, says he, God that knows better, what is like be effective with Human Nature, than Men themselves do, knows that boldness is not wont to be broken and extinguished by boldness,



but by mildness. And of this we see plain experience in the holy Apostles. Who, as oft as the people of the Jews rose against them, and sharpened their Teeth upon them, imitated the Dove, as our Lord requires, and by answering them with a becoming mildness and moderation, overcame their Anger, extinguished their Fury, and retarded their hasty and violent motions. For when they said, have we not charged you over and over, that you should not teach in this Name? Although they could have wrought infinite Miracles, yet they neither spoke, nor acted any thing harsh and provoking, but apologizing for themselves with all mildness, said, whether it be just to hearken to you, rather than unto God, judge ye.

† Ibid.

Such, as that good Father truly observed, is the prosperous issue of this course of Faith and Patience. And that when there is nothing promising in Human appearances, but all rests on Faith in God, or reliance on Providence. When the Sheep are to arm themselves, with nothing but Simplicity and Mansuetude in the midst of Wolves, what consolation, † saith he, can there be for them? Only the power of him that sends them. Therefore this he sets in the first place, loe! I send you — He that could have made them, that, as Lions, they should have struck terror into others; thought fit rather to order, that they should come as Sheep among terrifying Wolves: for that makes you more illustrious, and better declares my power and strength.

This I have here said, to note the wisdom and successfulness of this way, of trusting God for Relief, by keeping to his way of Faith and Patience, when his Vice-Gerents Persecute us: and not stepping out thereof into any forbidden ways, as warlike force, in trust to an Arm of Flesh, at the suggestion of worldly Prudence. And though this is not wisdom, to those that look only at Human Appearances: yet it will be found so, by those that mark events, and the Ways and Rules of

of Providence. For God sets himself against this worldly wisdom, and turns it into foolishness, to take Men off from trusting in an Arm of Flesh. And speeds and prospers this other method of spiritual Wisdom, by surprizes of Success, and invisible interpositions, and turns and ways never thought of till brought to pass; to call us all to rely on Providence, whilst, by confining our selves to his ways, we place our Faith and Trust in himself, as they who please may find more largely discoursed, in a *Treatise of Christian Prudence*, Ch. 8.

Thus, is Religion to be preserved, by Faith, and Patience, and Spiritual Methods; and not by Force: it cannot be taken by Force, and so needs not be kept by it.

Nay, instead of being preserved by Force, it is impaired thereby, when it is used in its behalf. They are much deceived, that fantasie War will do good to Religion. Instead of that, the force and fighting of Religious Men, are the greatest violence to Religion. Tho it gets by the Force it suffers, it loses mightily by the Force it uses. When Force gets within it, and mixes with it, whilst it seeks to preserve the Shell, it consumes the Kernel, and pretending to Guard the Body, it eats out the very Heart of it.

For Religion it self, lies mightily in Love and Beneficence: *He that loves another, hath fulfilled the law*, Rom. xiii. 10. *A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another*, Joh. xiii. 34. *And by this shall all men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have love one to another*, vers. 35. But, instead of Love and Beneficence; Wars and Fightings lye all in angry passions, and doing mischief. It, is shown in forgiving; that, in avenging Injuries. It, in doing good for ill; that, in doing all the ill men can. It, in mourning, with those that mourn; and rejoycing, with those that rejoyce: that, in mourning for the Mirth, and rejoycing over the Cries and

Grief of others. It, in loving our Neighbour, as our selves; yea, our Enemies that hate us, tho without a cause; or, our Persecutors, that hate us for the best things: but that, in hating and persecuting all as Enemies, having no regard to good or ill, Relations or Strangers, Friends or Foes. That, is tender of all the Things and Rights, both of God and Men: this of neither, sparing neither things sacred nor profane, and counting all it can take its own, and Spoil and Rapine, Waste and Devastation, no wrong. That, is for saving of Lives, in regard to community of Natures, and reverence to Gods Image: this, for destroying them. By these, and many more that might be added, it appears how Religion is calculated for a state of Peace: so that whensoever War bursts out, and is put in practice, the greater part of its Duties are under suspension, and suffer Violence. I do not say it forbids all Wars: in compliance with the state and necessities of this World, on just and great Causes, it connives and gives way to them. But this it doth by no means, as a way to promote it self, or advance the observance of its Rules, which are in so great measure no Rules at all, whilst War reigns. And therefore what it doth in this case, is only to tolerate it: it allows, but it doth not encourage, or persuade to it.

Besides, as the Liberties of War run counter to so great a body of its Rules; so, in time of War, there is also the usual restraint taken off, and impunity added to all Wickedness. They are, too often, then most in power, who are better Soldiers, than Christians; and have the least sense of Religion and Conscience. Then a shole of irreligious Tempers, as Pride, Insolence, Hatred, Uncompassionateness, Anger, Revenge, Covetousness, Ambition, Neglect of the things of God and Religion, or open profanation of them: in a word, all vicious and corrupt Passions are superinduced upon the minds

minds of men, which are a revival of the old man, and most opposite to the very life and design of true Religion. So that Religion it self, is not like to have any good, more than the civil State is, by Wars. Its Professors, will in the end be worse by it, in their Religion, as well as in their Fortunes. They will come out, more opposite to God, and the Temper of Saints, and so be worse Christians.

Yea, not only as to its *moral Practice*; but even as to *Orthodoxy of Profession*, and *Purity of Worship*, Religion, instead of being reform'd and amended, by the just Judgment of God, and the natural course of humane Passions, is too oft made a great deal worse, by warring against our Governors. A spiritual defection many times accompanies a civil one; as the *Israelites*, with *Jeroboam*, fell off from God to the *Calves*, when they had revolted from the house of *Solomon*. And in our late long civil Wars, when they rebell'd for Religion, by Rebellion against the King; was a strange defection introduced from Christianity; || some throwing out the *Articles of Faith*; some, all the *ten Commandments*; some, the *holy Scriptures*; some, the *calling, and office of Ministers*; some, their *Tythes and Maintenance*; some, the *Lords Supper*; others, *Baptism, and all Ordinances*. In a word, among one or other of the *Sects*, Religion, instead of thriving and increasing, most lamentably suffering in its most important *Articles*, in the very essential and constituent marks, and the visible face and external appearance of *Christs holy Church*.

|| *Vid. Edwards Gangrena part 1. Ep. Dedicat.*

Such, in reality, is the difference between our suffering others Force in Persecutions, and our using Force our selves, by listing Armies for Religion against our persecuting Rulers. We may practise all the parts of Religion, whilst they are forcing us; several, that have no place in external peace and quietness; and all, with more perfection and honor than at other times: so that  
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in suffering the force of Persecutors, Religion it self gets, whatever else loses; and its Rules, have more true and tryed, more perfect and triumphant Observance, than they could have otherwise. But when we come to use force our selves, to defend Religion against our persecuting Governors; in this time of force, we lay aside the greater part of its Rules, and give a loose to all degenerate and vicious Tempers, utterly opposite to its habits: so that, whatever else gets, it loses.

And therefore in spiritual Wisdom, which wisely seeks the growth of religious tempers on the minds of men, and the advancement of Faith and good Practice; Religion is not to be defended, or preserved, by our taking Arms against its and our Persecutors. It would live and thrive, be preserved and prosper'd, by our suffering: but, when to preserve those mundane Privileges which are tack'd to it, we go to War, it is sure to be worsted by our fighting. *Jesus Christ*, who prescribed it, is stiled, not the *Lord of Hosts*, or *God of Battels*, but the *Prince of Peace*: and the Gospel, which contains it, is the *Gospel of Peace*. So, 'tis our keeping Quiet, not running to Arms, that best suits it, and must do it good.

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*Of the Unlawfulness of taking Arms against the Supreme Power, in defence of the Laws, and Legal Rights, and Liberties.*

## C H A P. II.

*That the Subjects of the Empire had legal Rights.*

HAVING said thus much, to shew men how far their harming against their lawful Sovereigns is from doing any good to Religion: I now proceed in the next place to shew, that Religion's being back'd by Law, and made a civil Right, will by no means justify them in so doing.

Their

Their Plea is, That the Scripture Precepts, of Obedience, and Submission, and *not-resisting higher Powers*, but *bearing crosses under them*; were not design'd for Sufferers in all cases, but only for Sufferers according to Laws. They forbid all liberty or resisting, not absolutely, say || they, || See the Authors cited p. 2. to every man: but to him only, that has the Laws against him; or, who suffers under a Prince, whose Will is his Law, and without any Law to cover him. But, where men suffer in their civil Rights; or, where Religion suffers, that stands by Law, and is taken into the Subjects civil Properties; especially where they suffer an invasion of most important Rights, or a breach upon the Constitution it self: those Precepts, they say, forbid not Resistance in such cases, nor were they given, or intended for any such Sufferers. And tho the nature of Religion will not, yet the nature of civil Right, they think will authorize men, notwithstanding those Gospel Injunctions, to arm in defence thereof.

I take this to be a great, and most lamentable perversion of those Gospel Precepts, which were given to men that had legal Rights, and suffer'd the most illegal invasions of them. And to clear this point, I shall endeavour to shew, how under the most heinous and notorious Invasions, that oppressive Sovereigns have made upon Laws and Rights; God has still call'd Subjects to this Non-Resistance. And how such Invasions gave no exemptions therefrom, either to the *Christians*, under the persecuting Emperors; nor to the *Jews*, under their Kings; nor is allow'd to exempt *us*, by our own Laws. Nay, if this plea, of *defensibleness of legal Rights*, can exempt us: I think it will be found, that a like defensibleness of natural Rights, would as well exempt all other Subjects, and so leave no such duty in the World, as *Passive Obedience*. There being as good Authority, to defend our natural Rights this way, against persecuting Laws; as there is to defend any legal Rights, against illegal Persecutors.

First,

24 *Of the Unlawfulness of taking Arms against the Supreme Power,*

First, I shall shew this of the Christians, under the Roman Emperors. And this I shall endeavour to do, with the more exactness; the Gospel Precepts, of Submission and Non-Resistance, being, by our Lord and his Apostles, most indispensably enjoyn'd, and afterwards, during all the ten Persecutions, most carefully and strictly practis'd, under their Invasions.

First, to clear this point I observe, that there was a great, and most notorious Invasion of Rights and Liberties, when yet the Authority was own'd, and Non-resistance and Allegiance enjoyn'd, by Christ and his Apostles.

The Imperial Power became a legal Constitution, and was settled by Law upon Augustus, by the Senate and People themselves. His Country gave up the Care and Authority of the whole Empire to him, that for his Life he should have the power both of Peace and War, says

\* Geog.  
l. 17. sub  
fin.

\* Strabo. This was, when in a set speech in free and open Senate, he offered to restore and give up all the Power into their hands, both Arms, Laws, and Provinces, as †

† Dio reports. They had passed through a long series of civil Miseries and Distractions, through the Factions and bloody Wars of the great men, that appeared now plainly unavoidable under the popular form. And being made sensible thereby, of the great inconveniency of their former popular State, and of the Sweetness of that Ease and Quietness, which all experienced under his Government: they all pray'd him with many words,

‡ ib. l. 53. laying before him many Arguments, as the same || Dio relates, that he would take the Empire, which he offer'd to restore back to them, upon himself alone. And thus, adds he, was all the power of Senate and People transferr'd upon Augustus, and confirmed to him by themselves. The Emperors, as he farther notes to this purpose, received all the Power of the whole Commonwealth, by means of those Names, of Consul, Proconsul, Imperator, of the Pontifical

Pontifical, and Tribunitial Powers, &c. which were used in the popular State, and which they now assume according to the Laws. — taking the Names, together with the Powers of the former Magistrates, upon themselves, that they may not seem to hold them by Force, but by the Laws. Thus, according to this noble Historian, did the Imperial Power become the legal Constitution and Government of the Roman Empire. And this was by the Royal Law or *Lex Regia*, a Law past, as *Justinian* \* declares, about the Authority of the Emperor, whereby the People conferred upon him all their Power, and whence his *Placita* (as well as any *Leges*, *Plebiscita*, *Senatusconsulta*, &c. in their Law Books,) should have the force of Law. This Law gave him also the Prerogatives † of calling and holding *Senates*, of making Leagues and Alliances, of acting whatsoever he should think of use to the Commonwealth, or for the majesty of humane and divine things, with other particular Powers mention'd in a Fragment thereof upon its renewall to *Vespasian*, still extant in an *Inscription* on || a Brazen Table in the *Lateran* at *Rome*.

But after the erection of the Empire, and making it, as by the *Lex Regia* it begun to be in *Augustus*, a legal Establishment; several Powers still remain'd in the People and Senate. Publick business, and the chief of his private also, were treated of by the Senate. The *Consuls*, and the *Prætors* too, retain'd their Figure. The lesser Magistrates likewise, exercised each their several Powers; and the Laws, bating only in Questions of Treason, were in good use,\* says *Tacitus* of the Empire, as it had stood <sup>1. A. p. 190.</sup> *ad eam diem*, viz. till the ninth year, or thro all the best <sup>191. Ed.</sup> days of *Tiberius*. The Senators and the Magistrates, had <sup>Gryphis.</sup>

\* Sed & quod principi placuit Legis habet vigorem: quum Lege Regia quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei, & in eum, omne imperium suum & potestatem concedat. Instit. l. 1. tit. 2. 6.

† Fædusve cum quibus velit facere liceat — utique ei senatum habere, relationem facere, &c. Utrique quæcumque ex usu reipublicæ, Majestate Divinarum, humanarum, publicarum, privatarumque rerum esse censuerit, ei agere facere jus potestasque sit, ita ut Divo Augusto, Tiberio &c. fuit.

|| Apud Jan. Gruterum Inscrip. Antiqu. p. 242. & Inscrip. de Cæsar. Suetonio Annexis Ed. Ox. sub Vespas. nu. 10.



26 *Of the Unlawfulness of taking Arms against the Supreme Power,*

*both their ancient Majesty, and Authority preserved to them. And before them were brought, both the matter of Customs and Monopolies, of raising and disbanding Soldiers, of continuing Commanders, or nominating them for extraordinary Wars, and of answering the Letters and Ambassadors*

*of Kings, † says Suetonius, of the way and administration of the Emperor, in the days of that Prince. By the || Tribunitial Power, the Emperor, indeed, could interpose, and, when he saw fit, with power of Negative stop any matters. Tho here also, ‡ Suetonius notes the Temper and Moderation of Tiberius in his good years, suffering, and that without complaint, some things to be carried in the Senate, against his Mind and Suffrage. Albeit, in most things, either about Men or Money, or whatever else, wherein they were to refer to the Senate, the Emperors, having such height of power in themselves, found the Senators very obsequious. But the Emperors, not content with this original Power, tho \* mighty free and large indeed, as Tiberius tells the Senate who had confer'd it: still sought one after another, to stretch the Imperial Prerogative more and more, till by degrees they had swallowed up most of that, which, by the allowance of the Lex Regia, at first remain'd, of the Powers and Prerogatives of the People and Senate.*

*\* Principem quem vos tanta ac tam Libera potestate instruxistis, Senatui servire debere. c. 29.*

Nay, not content thus to incroach, on all that seem'd to carry any competition in *point of Power*: when they had taken from them, almost all the *Authority of Governors*, they would not permit them to rest safe in the *Rights and Immunities of Subjects*, or keep in their Administration, to the *known Laws and Justice of the Empire*. For they were very heinous and notorious Invaders, of the *Lives and Properties of the Roman Subjects*, and those too of highest Dignity: as may appear to any, that will read the *Lives of Tiberias, Caligula, Claudius, Nero*, who sway'd all in the days of *Christ and his Apostles*. But

But what say the Prince, and the Preachers of the Gospel of Peace, to the Subjects of the Empire, under these Invaders of Rights and Properties, or Ravishers of Liberties, as the phrase of some now is? Render to Caesar the things which are Caesars, says our Saviour to the Jews under Tiberius, towards the end of his Reign, and in his worst times. Mat. xxii. 21. *Whoever resists, resists the ordinance of God, and shall receive damnation. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake,* says S. Paul to those at Rome, Rom. xiii. 2. 5. And submit for the Lords sake to every ordinance of man, whether to the King as supreme, or to Governors, who are sent by him, says S. Peter to the strangers or converted Jews, thro Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and those parts. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. And this charge be laid on them, and was instant in it, when their Countrymen were busily meditating a Revolt, which was abetted by those in the Provinces, as well as acted by those in Judea, as \* Dio says: and that from under Nero, \* L. 66. the worst of invading Tyrants, and monster of men; this Epistle being writ, as Dr. † Lightfoot conjectures, in the † Harm. of New Test. ad An. Ner. 11. Christi 65. || Joseph. de Bell. l. 2. c. 24. eleventh year of Nero, when the Jews had begun those Commotions, the factious spirits had been so long driving on, it being the || year before Cestius Gallus laid siege to Jerusalem, which a few years after was taken and destroyed by Vespasian.

These were the Rules of Christian Subjection, under all the afore said Emperors, whereby the Christians of that, and of the ensuing Ages, were to govern themselves. And these, do not teach taking up Arms against invading Princes; but passive Obedience or Non-resistance under them. And that at a time, when the invasion of Rights, was most crying and notorious; and in the tenderest points, both of Life, Power, and Fortunes. And when they had not merely the nature of Right to plead, as implying a power, as some say now, of forcible De-

|| P. 11.

fence even against the Prince himself, should he offer to infringe it. But when also, || says the *Pastoral Letter*, (tho I think the *Lex Regia* and the erection of the Empire, had taken the force of that off) they had the *Lex Valeria* or *Valerian Law* to secure those Rights. That is, a Law of *Valerius*, from this, and other such like Laws passed in his *Consulship*, surnamed *Publicola*, as

\* Dec. 1.

l. 2.

† *Vid.*

Paulum

Manut. de

Leg. Ro.

p. 37, 38.

\* *Livy* says: who, upon the *Expulsion of the Kings*, and change of Government to a popular state, † enacted, That it should be lawful for any one to kill him, who took upon him any Magistracy, without the Peoples order and consent.

And indeed, the meaning of all the Gospel Precepts, of taking up the Cross, Patience, and Non-resistance, must needs be meant of *Invaders of Rights*, whether natural or civil, matters not much, as I shall shew afterwards. For where are the Crosses, what place for Patience, or what provocation to Resistance, under the Maintainers of Rights or righteous Rulers? There is difference between the Patience and Non-resistance of Criminals, and the Patience and Non-resistance of Christians. That is, when they suffer according to Right; this, when against Right: that, when they suffer for ill; this, when for good and rewardable things. *If, when ye suffer for your faults, ye take that patiently, what glory is it to you? But, if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, that is acceptable with God.* 1 Pet. ii. 19, 20. So that to pretend we are for Passive Obedience, and yet, not to be for suffering, but resisting, when our Rights are invaded; seems as much as to say, we are always for it, but when we are call'd to use it. Good Kings, will not punish, but reward good men and well-doers; and that will afford, but very little trial of their Passive Obedience.

Under the *Successors* of these *Emperors*, the Persecutions of the Christians, were carried on still by the breach of Rights. Not only the Rights of God, and Religion: as all their Persecutions, were a reverse of his Orders,

ders, and usurping a Power to punish and torment his servants, for obeying him. But by a breach of the Rights of the Empire too.

To clear this I observe, that though the Roman Emperor, had a very large and extensive Power, much wider than is enjoyed by our Kings, and as absolute by the *Lex Regia*, as could well consist with the Government of a Free People: yet was this Imperial Power, to be administered by stated Laws, and to consist with popular freedoms and immunities.

In several things, the Emperor was bound up to the consent of the Subject, not having a plenary Power to act alone, without the concurrence of the Senate. Such was the Consecrating of any new God; which, as † *Tertullian* † Apol. p. 6. c. 13. notes, was not to be done, nisi à Senatu probatus, without the approbation of the Senate. On which account, though on the credit of Letters he received out of Palestine declaring his Divinity, Tiberius was for it; and brought it into the Senate, as that Father observes, with the prerogative of his Suffrage: yet, the Senate refusing, our Saviour Christ was not admitted into the List of the Roman Deities. To say nothing now, how, by the Original Constitution, he was to bring before them several great matters of State; as about raising Taxes, and Soldiers, and answering Ambassadors, and the like, as I observed before. Such also was that Creation of Magistrates, reserved at first || by the *Lex Regia* to the Senate and People, (the Emperor, as Head of the Senate, giving his Suffrage,) which Tiberius first † took away from the People in the Assembly of their Tribes, to restrain it to the Senators, as is observed by Tacitus; and which Caligula was afterwards for restoring to them, as we are told by || *Suetonius*.

¶ *Utique quos Magistratum, Potestatem, imperium, Curationemve cuius rei petentes, Senatui populoque Ro. commendaverit, quibusque Suffragationem suam dederit, promiscrit, eorum Committis quibusque extra ordinem ratio habeatur.* Inscript. Tab Lateran.

† *Tum primum è campo comitia ad Patres translata sunt. Nam ad eam diem, etsi*

*potissima arbitrio Principis, quedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant.* Tacit. An. l. 1. p. 29. Ed. Gryph. || In Calig. c. 16.

The



The Imperial Power was Established by Law in *Augustus*, on his Speech to deliver it up to the *Senate and People*, as I shewed before. And cannot be thought to have been such a Power, as should set aside all their Laws, since in that very Speech he exhorted them firmly to retain, and make no change in their received Laws, as Dio

|| Lib. 53. || says.

And after it was set up, to profess and bear out their Liberties as Free Subjects, and their not coming thereby into a state of Servitude, or subjection to mere Will and Discretion as the Emperors Slaves, the Romans would

† Suet. in  
Aug. c. 53.  
|| Id. in  
Tib. c. 27.

not give, nor the Emperors, as † *Augustus*, || *Tiberius*, &c. receive or admit the Title of *Domini* but of *Principes*, not be stiled *Lords*, but *Princes*. They had erected an Imperial Sovereignty, which should proceed according to Roman Laws and Liberties: and so would not look upon their Empire, as a Regality, which in their ordinary account spoke a Government more absolute, and inconsistent with Popular Rights and immunities. So in *Caligula*, who was for wearing the Regal Diadem, † *Suetonius* taxes it as an high enormity, that he was for changing the Fashion of a Principality, into that of a Regality.

† In Calig.  
c. 22.

Nay, the Law it self declares the Imperial Power, to be a limited Power, and tied to go by Laws, and with regard to Legal Liberties. || It is a voice

|| *Digna vox est Majestate Regnantis, Legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri.* Cod. l. 1. Tit. 14. De Legibus, &c. l. 4.

† *Nihil tam proprium Imperii est, quam Legibus vivere.* Cod. lib. 6. Tit. 23. de Testam. l. 3.

worthy of the Majesty of one that Reigns, to profess himself tied to go by Laws, says the Roman Law. And again, † Nothing is so much the Property of Empire, as to live and go by the Laws. Agreeable to which, is the saying of *Socrates*, who,

from his being an Advocate, was stiled *Scholasticus*: who says of *Maxentius's* illegal outrage, killing without Process, and otherwise illegally oppressing the Romans by a Yoke of Tyrannical Servitude; that it was treating them in the way of a Tyrant, not of a Roman

Τυραννικῶ μᾶλλον ἢ Βασιλευσικῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ νόμῳ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦτο.

Soc. Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 2.

Emperor.

Emperor. And that also of Tertullian, well skilled likewise in the Roman Laws, who tells the illegally oppressive Magistrates and Grandees of Rome, † This Empire, whereof you are the Ministers, is a Civil or Politick, viz. as proceeding by Laws and Right: not a Tyrannical Domination, wherein all is left to the Lust of those that administer it.

† Hoc imperium, cuius ministri estis, Civilis, non Tyrannica Dominatione est. A-pol. c. 2.

The Power of the Emperor, was a Complex thing; integrated of the Consular, and Proconsular, the Tribunitian, the Censorian, the Imperatorian, the Pontifical, and other Branches, whereinto the Power and Polity was divided, under the Democracy or Common-Wealth. All these Powers, saith || Dio, as they were by Law Established in the Democracy, do the Emperors take to themselves, together with the names, that they may appear to have nothing, but what is freely given to them; —and to hold them, not by Force, but from the Laws.

|| τὰ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, &c. Dio l. 53. p. 581, 582.

Now all these, were Legal Powers, and to be administered according to the direction of the Standing Roman Laws. † As the Magistrates are to Rule the People, so are the Laws to Rule them, says Cicero. || They are bound to go by Laws, says he again, And the better to secure their maintenance of Laws, they took an Oath to proceed by them, when intrusted with the Execution thereof. The Judges must observe the Laws, being obliged by Law to swear they will do so, before they can take their place in Court, as † he elsewhere observes. The Foundation of the Roman Liberties, says || he, was laid on this, that they were Masters and Disposers of their own Rights. And these Rights, they could not be deprived of by Will and Pleasure, but by Judicial Process.

† Ut Populo presunt magistratus, ita Magistratibus Leges. Cic. de Legib. lib. 3. initio.

|| Ipsi Legibus teneantur. id. Orat. 8. quæ est in Verrem, l. 3. in fine.

† Iudice, qui ex Lege jurati judicatis, Legibus obtemperare Debetis. l. 1. De Inventione. §. 60. so called juratorum hominum Orat. 5. because jurare in Legem judicaturi solebant, Gothofred Not. in loc.

|| Hæc sunt fundamenta firmissima nostræ Libertatis, sui quemque juris, & retinendi, & Dimittendi, esse Dominum. Orat. 35. pro Cornel. Balbo.

† This

† Hoc nobis esse à majoribus traditum, hoc esse denique proprium Libere civitatis, ut nihil de capite civis, aut de bonis, sine iudicio senatus, aut populi, aut eorum qui de quaque re constituti iudices sint, detrahi possit. Id. Orat. 29. Pro Domo sua ad Pontif.

† This we have received from our Ancestors, and this is the Property of a free City, that nothing shall be diminished from the Lives or Goods of any Citizens, without Judgment or Sentence first pass'd, either by the Senate, or People, or others, who, in any matter, are the established Judges. Which Judges, in passing those

Sentences or Awards about them, were bound, as he has told us, to proceed by the known and stated Laws.

And therefore when the Emperors received all these Powers, as *Consular, Proconsular, Tribunitia*, &c. they received such Powers, as were under the Regulation of Laws. And accordingly *Dio*, speaking of that *Plenitude of Power* carried in the foremention'd Titles, where

\* *Lib. 53.* by they had Authority, as \* he says, to raise men and money, to make Peace and War, &c. yea, to put to death, even Knights and Senators themselves, and that within the *Pomarium* or Precincts of the City: notes, that this was now lawful for them, in like sort, and under like Regulation only, as before it had been lawful for the former Magistrates. They may by Law do all these things, † saith he, and all other things, which it was before lawful for the Consuls, and other Magistrates, that had full power, to do.

† *Ibid.*

They were *Sacro-sancti*, indeed, as he there says, and so without Process, could slay any Man *vs. evayn*, as a *Piacle* or *Devotum Caput*, that hurt them either in word or deed. But this was a privilege under the Regulation of Laws, not superseding Process in ordinary course of Justice, but only in case of Violence to their own persons; and had formerly appertain'd to the *Tribunes*, (as now from them it must to the Emperors, since on them the *Tribunitia Power* was devolved,) whilst the Laws are allow'd to have been in force, and the ordinary course of Administration to have been according to them. It being stood upon by the Commons, and *per sacratam Legem*,  
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by the sacred Law establish'd, as || Livy says, at the first creation of the Tribuni Plebis, that they should be *Sacrosancti Magistratus*, a *Sacrosanct* Magistracy. That is, such as no man could violate, but the *Sacrata Lex* did \* *sacrare caput cum bonis*, as the same Livy † says was decreed against the Affecters of Empire by the popular Law of Valerius; viz. || Cursed him to Hell as a Devoted man, so that it might be lawful for any one to kill him.

\* *Sacrosanctum-sanctione pœna, cum caput ejus, qui contra facit, consecratur. Cicero pro Cornel. Balbo Orat. 35.*

† *Ibid. lib. 2.*

|| *Vid. Macrobian. Sat. l. 3. c. 7. p. 319, 320.*

They were also loose from the Laws. *Ἀέλωται γὰρ οἱ νόμοι*, † says Dio, and *Princeps Legibus solutus est*, saith the † Law. That is, they were loosed from all such Laws of the popular State, as were against Monarchy, and inconsistent with their Imperial Sovereignty: but not from those Laws, which concern'd it in all the parts thereof, and ordered how each of them should be administred. So in one Clause of the *Lex Regia* it self, as it is in the forecited *Lateran Table*, as on the one hand it is decreed, that \* *From what Laws, and Plebiscita, it was ordained, that the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, should be loosed; from those Laws and Plebiscita, let the Emperor Vespasian be loosed.* So is it decreed on the other, that *What things soever, by what Law or Asking soever, the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius [facere oportuit] was bound to do; let it be lawful [facere liceat] for the Emperor Vespasian to do them all.* It puts *liceat* in *Vespasian's Case*, for *oportuit* in *Augustus's, &c.* for Deference and Respects sake; and to note, that, tho equally bound as they; yet if he fail'd, he was not under Coercion, or by any Superior compellable thereto.

\* *Utique quibus Legibus, Plebeisque scitis scriptum fuit, ne Divus Augustus &c. tenerentur; iis Legibus, plebisque scitis, Imp. Cæs. Vespasianus solutus sit: Quæque ex quaque Lege, Rogatione, Divum Augustum &c. facere oportuit, ea omnia Imp. Cæs. Vespasiano facere liceat.*

Or, the Emperors were loose in respect of other Laws, from the Restraint thereby as Subjects, in their private



actions. To this, I think, that Rule, of *Princeps Legibus solutus est*, refers. And therefore in that Law it is declared, not only to be the Privilege of the *Emperors*, but to be communicable by them to the

\* *Princeps Legibus solutus est. Augusta autem, licet legibus soluta non est, Principes tamen eadem illi Privilegia tribuunt, quae ipsi habent. Lib. 1. Dig. Tit. 3. l. 31.*

† -- *Experiar quid concedatur in illos Quorum Flaminia regitur cinis atque Latina.*

Juv. Sat. 1.

and *Vestal Virgins*, being they are not bound by the Laws, || shall have their Sepulchres in the City, || says *Servius*. Or, their looseness from Laws, was from the punishments of Laws, or not being coercible by their Penalties. Thus *Harmenopolus* expounds it, by ἀμεινόμενος ὁ νόμος, i. e. The Prince is loose from the Laws, because not punishable by any on Earth when he breaks them. And so as \* *Grotius* observes, doth *S. Ambrose* too, who had been a Judge of the Empire, in his *Apologia Davidis*. *Rex utique erat &c. i. e. He was a King, and so not bound by the Laws, because Kings are free from the bond of their offences. For they cannot be called to punishment by any humane Laws, being secure by the Authority of Empire.*

\* *Florum Sparso ad jus Justin. p. 87.*

† *Ex imperfecto Testamento nec imperatorem hereditatem vindicare posse saepe constitutum est. Cod. lib. 6. Tit. 23. de Testam. l. 3.*

But tho thus loosed, from the direct Authority and Restraint of Laws, in their private Actions; yet were the Emperors tyed to Laws, as well as others, and to have only what the Law gave them, in any claims of Rights and Properties. † If the Testament is imperfect, and not valid, the Emperor himself cannot claim the Inheritance thereby, as has often been determined, says the Law. Tho loose from all Coercion, and suffering punishment by them, as Subjects: yet were they not loose from the tye, of administering by them, as Rulers; it being

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being a voice worthy of the Majesty of one that reigns, as to this matter, as I noted from the Law before, to profess himself a Prince, not left to Rule at Will, but tyed to the Laws. The Emperors were to Rule, and administer Justice, not after their own Will and arbitrary Pleasure, but *ut Dominatio Civilis*, as I observed from Tertullian, or according to Laws, till they were taken off by regular Repeals. And what possession they had of the Legislative, was to be Legislators to a Free People. Tho altering in other matters, as might make most for the good of their Subjects; yet having no Power to vacate those Laws, which were the Guard of Roman Liberty and Property. They were not free by Law, to make the *Free-born Romans, Slaves*; or ordain any thing, but what was suitable to a People of Free condition.

For the Roman Subjects, had both their *Laws* and *Customs*, their *jus-scriptum* and *non scriptum*, written and unwritten Laws, as || *Justinian* calls them. They were not as the Emperors *Slaves*, who, as 'tis in the \* *Institutes*, have no head in Law, nor can acquire or receive any thing for themselves, but all for their Masters. But, as *Free-men*, had their several *Properties*, and were Masters of Estates, some vastly great, and others less, according to their several Degrees and Qualities. Whereof they could dispose, as *Proprietors*, by Sale or Gift, either in their Lives, or by their Testament at their Deaths. They had their Rights and Freedoms, and distinct Steps and Degrees, of Immunity and Privilege; some, having the *Rights of Liberty*; others, of *Citizens* or of the City, which † *Augustus* was careful to keep in great price, and dispens'd so very sparingly; others, of Dignity. And in Dignities, the several Degrees had their proportionable Privileges and Exemptions. And, indeed, since the Romans were such unmeasurable Affectioners of Liberty, and prided themselves above all the

|| *Instit.*  
l. 1. Tit. 2.  
\* l. 1. Tit.  
16. § 1. 2.  
Tit. 9.

† *Suet. in*  
*Aug. c. 40.*

¶ l. 53. p.  
570.

World on the score of their Freedoms and Privileges: when, on *Augustus's* offer, to restore the Power and Authority back into their hands, both *Arms, Laws, and Provinces*, as || *Dio* says, they chose rather to erect the *Imperial Power* by the *Lex Regia*: no man can imagine, that by this Law they would pass away, not only their former Power as Rulers, but also their Freedoms and Immunities, as Subjects, and make themselves and their Posterities, instead of *priviledg'd and Free-born Romans*, to be all thenceforward mere *Slaves*. The *Freedoms of Romans*, they still kept on; and a great price was set upon these Freedoms, to those who needed to purchase, and were not born to them, as well under the Emperors, as it had been before their time. *With a great sum of money, obtain'd I this Freedom*, viz. of being a *Roman*, saith the *Chief Captain*; but *I*, says *S. Paul*, was *Free born*. Act xxii. 27, 28.

Among these Freedoms and Immunities of *Roman Citizens*, one was, that they should not be put in Bonds. Another, that they should not be punish'd with Stripes and Scourges. A third, that it was not lawful to fix any of them upon a Cross, which were *Servilia Supplicia*, or Punishments appointed for their Slaves.

\* *Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum; scelus verberari; quid dicam in crucem tollere?* Cicero Orat. 10. quæ est in Verrem l. 5.

† *Ob quam causam, Dii immortales? tametsi injuriam facio oommuni causæ, & juri civitatis. Quasi enim posset esse ulla causa, cur hoc cuiquam civi Romana jure accideret.* ib.

be any cause, for which the Magistrate might deal thus by *Roman Citizens*. || *This*, says he again, is the sweet of  
¶ *O! Nomen Dulce Libertatis. O! jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O! Lex Porcia, Legeque sempronie*, &c. ib. vid. & Orat. pro C. Rabirio.

Liberty

Liberty, and the singular Right and Privilege of our City, secured to us by the *Lex Porcia* and the *Leges Sempronie*, which no *Prator*, or other Person whomsoever, should impunely transgress. Another of their Rights and Privileges, was not to be condemn'd unheard, or suffer without a Tryal: which was not only the Law of Rome, but of all civiliz'd Nations. \* No Malefactor is to be condemn'd, till he has first been accused, and had his Tryal, says *Cicero*. And the Law of the twelve Tables, forbids *interfici indemnatum quemcunq; hominem*, any man to suffer before hearing and Condemnation, as † *Salvian* notes. Not to mention the Lenity and Temper in other Respects, which || *Cicero* observes of the Roman Law towards accused Persons.

\* *Nocens, nisi accusatus fuerit, condemnari non potest.*  
Orat. 2.  
pro Sexto Roscio.  
† *De Pro. vid. l. 8.*  
*in fine.*  
|| *Pro Domino sua ad Pontif.*  
Orat. 29.

These, were popular Rights and Immunities, not only under the Commonwealth, but afterwards under the Emperors. *S. Paul* pleads them under *Nero*, and tells the Chief Captain he had infringed his Roman Privileges, and acted illegally by him, both in binding, and scourging him being a Roman, and in inflicting all this upon him unheard, and before Condemnation. Is it lawful for you, says he, as they bound him with Thongs, to scourge a Man that is a Roman, and uncondemn'd? And the Chief Captain was afraid, because he was a Roman, and because he had bound him. Act. xxii. 25. 29. The like plea of Privilege he also makes, and therewith put the Invaders thereof in fear, upon a like Violation of these Rights of a Roman Subject, before the Magistrates of *Philippi*. Act. xvi. 37, 38.

Another Privilege, of the Free Subjects and Citizens of Rome, was that Persons of Honor, as the *Decurio's* or *Senators* in any of the municipal Courts, but especially the Chiefs of the City, as those of the Title of *Egregii* and *Perfectissimi*, should not, unless in some special Cases, as of Treason, be examined by Torture. As it was moreover, that a *Mans* Servant should not be put to the Torture



\* De  
Mort.  
Persec. c.  
21. 23.

*Torture to confess against his Master.* Both which, as well as *Bonds*, and *Stripes*, and *Crosses*, towards *Romans*, *Lactantius* cries out of in *Galerius*, as *Violations of Roman Liberties*, and \* calls a treating of them by a *Right of War as Captives*; not as *Roman Subjects*, but as *Persian Slaves*. And the like might be shown of others; but it would be too tedious to recount particulars.

Thus, to insist on no more instances, which were very numerous, both to Persons and Places, were the Subjects of the Empire under the Protection of Laws, and in the legal and customary enjoyment of Freedoms and Privileges. The Administration of the Emperor, was to be according to the Laws and Liberties of the Empire. He owed his Power to the Law.

† *Digna vox est Majestate regnantis Legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri. Adeo de auctoritate juris nostra pendet Auctoritas.* Cod. l. 1. Tit. 14. de Legibus &c. 4.

† *On the Authority of Law hangs our Authority: So that 'tis a Voice worthy of the Majesty of one that reigns, to profess himself tyed to Laws.* say the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*. And as he had his

Power by Law; so had they too their Rights and Privileges, in these, and many other instances. Yea, these Rights, the Law would defend them in, against the Emperor himself. For, by the Rule of the *Roman State*, and by the practice of it, not only all the days of *Augustus*, but all the best days of the Reign of *Tiberius*, they had the Protection of Law for their Rights and Properties, against their Prince, as well as against their Fellow Subjects. *If the Emperor [Tiberius]* || says *Tacitus*, and any private man had any Dispute, the Law and Courts were to decide it. He was to have no more, than what the Law allow'd him.

|| *Si quando cum Privatis disceptaret, forum & jus.* Tacit. An. l. 4. p. 191. Ed. Gryphii.

\* *Ex imperfecto Testamento nec imperatorem hereditatem vindicare posse sepe constitutum est.* L. 3. de Testam. Cod. lib. 6. Tit. 23.

\* *If the Testament be illegal, the Prince cannot inherit by it, as has often been decreed, says the Law.* So that, altho the

*Imperial Power* was very large, yet was it not without its

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its Bounds, and by Law should comport, with popular Rights and Immunities. And this Point, of the Romans being *Free Subjects*, that have Rights and Properties, under a *Civil and Politick Power*; not *Slaves*, which have none, under a *Despotick*: made a wide distinction, betwixt the way of a *Roman Emperor*, and a *Persian Monarch*; as *Lactantius* † notes against *Galerius*, † *De Mort. Persec.* who affected to Rule the Free born Roman, in way of Servitude, like Eastern Kings. C. 21.

And therefore, when the Emperors, after all the Powers of Senate and People, had by Law been transferr'd on them, were styled *absolute*: that is, not as being loose in their Administration, from all Laws, or popular Immunities. But from that Dependence, wherein others for a limited time had held these Powers, whilst they were parcell'd out among many Magistrates, in the Freedom of the *Roman State*; and from all Sharers and Partnership, either of People or Senate, in their Imperial Sovereignty and Government. Yet still so, as to be Governors of Free born Subjects, not of Slaves. And to administer the several parts of their Power, by the Laws of the Empire; as the other Magistrates, ere it was taken out of their hands, had done before. Especially, whilst those Laws were in force, and before they themselves, when possessed of the Legislative in such sort as might consist with the Liberties of a Free People, had alter'd or revoked any that were legally revocable, by *Regular Repeals*. Whilst any Laws were in force, those Laws, as I noted from *Cicero*, were to model the Courts, and guide the Sentences. And *S. Ambrose* afterwards, who had himself been first an *Advocate*, and then a *Judge of the Empire in Civil Affairs*, || says, *A good Judge doth nothing of his own will or private choice; sed juxta Leges & jura pronunciat. Sicut* || *In Psal. 118. O-* *audit, ita judicat — obsequitur Legibus, non adversatur.* *8on. 20. p. 500.* i.e. but pronounces according to the Laws. As he hears, so <sup>1</sup> Vol.

so he judges — he follows the Laws, never opposes them.

Yea, even the *Persians* themselves, whose Princes did so exceed in Prerogative; yet in the height of their absolute Power, were not loose from inviolable Laws, however few those Laws were, or free they were from being call'd to account, for any Breaches of them. For the Scripture tells us, of the *Laws of Medes and Persians*, which alter not. *Esth.* i. 19. and *Dan.* vi. 8. 12. 15. And when the *Princes* had got one of these Laws, to destroy *Daniel*; we see, when his heart was the most set upon it, it was not in the Power of the *King himself* to save him. *Dan.* iii. 14, 15, 16.

Thus were the *Roman Emperors*, not merely arbitrary, but limited *Governors*, who were to Rule their People according to *stated Laws*. And the *Roman Subjects*, were *privileged Subjects*, who lived under the Benefit and Protection of *Legal Rights, Freedoms, and Properties*; for which they had as good Law, as the Emperor had for his Prerogatives, and whereof they could not be despoiled, without Violence to the Law and legal Constitution, whereupon the Emperor himself stood. And this I have taken the more pains to clear, because one main Foundation of the Advocates for Resistance, is, the *supposed absolute Power of these Emperors*. They own the Scripture Prohibitions of Resistance, which no man certainly can deny, till he has either lost all Modesty or Understanding. But † they say they are not to our purpose, nor suit our Case, because their *Kings and Emperors Wills were their Laws, and their People had no Magna Charta's or Records of Liberties to show*, as we have. So that the *Frame of the Government warranted all those Commands that had the Royal Pleasure, and the People could plead no legal Injustice*. Whereas, in truth, their Emperors, as I have shown, were tyed to Laws; and the Subjects had legal Rights, (yea and those not coming from the Emperors Grants,

but

† Discourse  
about the  
Justice of  
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York. p. 6.

but antecedent to them in virtue of their ancient Laws, which were still reserved and kept on when his Imperial Power was first given;) and so were capable to suffer illegal Injustice, as any other privileged Subjects of legal and limited Governments, may do.

### C H A P. III.

#### *Of Invasion of Legal Rights, under the persecuting Emperors.*

HAVING said thus much in the foregoing Chapter, to prove the Subjects of the Empire had legal Rights; I now proceed in this to shew what Invasions were made upon them, to try their Passive Obedience under these Emperors.

Now the foremention'd Rights and Immunities of the Christians, as they were Roman Subjects, and the common benefit and favour of the standing Roman Laws, were invaded in the primitive Persecutions. I do not mean, Laws for Christianity; our holy Religion not being like to have any establishment of Laws, whilst the Emperors were Heathens. But Laws for Liberty, and Property, and common Justice, as Roman Subjects. Admit it was criminal by the Constitutions of the Empire, and that the Christians, did not only want Laws for Religion, but had Laws against it: yet had they just ground for this Complaint, because, when indicted as Criminals, they were not permitted, as || Tertullian says, to suffer only according to Law, as other Criminals, or vouchsafed the Justice of legal Tryals. For the cruel Emperors, and their Presidents, in persecuting the Martyrs and Confessors, infringed their civil Rights, denying them the Justice of Laws, and Legal Claims, and treat-

*Cum accusati ut nocentes, a vobis a-liter tra-ctamur, quam patres nostri, id est, ceteri nocentes. Tert.*  
ing Apol. c. 2.



ing them contrary to all Forms of Justice, which were as much their Birth-right, as any of their Fellow-subjects.

1. To be tortured for Christianity, when they confess'd it, was absolutely against Law. For the legal use of Torture, was only as a means of Inquisition, to force Confession. It was not the legal Punishment of the Fact, but only the legal means of Discovery, and bringing it to

\* *Tormenta non pro pœna adhibentur, soli questioni temperantur.* Apol. c. 2.

† *Ib. § ad Nationes lib. 1. cap. 2.*

|| *Vestram illis servate Legem, usque ad Confessionem. Hoc leges jubent, hoc Senatus Consulta, hoc Principum mandata definiunt.* Apol. c. 2.

light. By your Law, Torments are not used for Punishment, but only for Inquisition, says \* *Tertullian*. Their intent, was only to extort the Truth, and the Ministers of Law, who made use thereof, were only † *Veritatis extorquende Præsides*, or Presidents that sate thereby to force out the Truth. So that by Law, they were never to torture Confessors, but Denyers: || If you would keep to your

own Laws, saith he, to the Orders of Senate, or Constitutions of Princes, you should torture no man longer, than till you have made him confess. And therefore when the Christians confessed their Accusation, as they frankly did when brought in question for the Faith of Christ, to torment them on still, was most illegal. It was an utter

\* *In Orat.* perverting of Law. And accordingly \* *Minutius*, who was himself an Advocate and Pleader in their Courts, calls it exercising *perversam Questionem*, a perverting the real design, and legal use of Inquisition. And before him *Tertullian*, expert also in the Roman Laws,

† *Ad Nationes lib. 1. c. 2.*

† tells them this course was, *tormentorum officia mutare*, to change the Office and use of Tortures. It is such a perverseness, || says he, as makes the very Ministers of Law and Justice, to minister against both, to overthrow Laws, and the true nature and common form of Judicature.

|| *Ista Perversitas --- quæ vos adversus Formam, adversus Naturam judicandi, contra ipsas quoque Leges ministrat.* Apol. cap. 2.

But

But this most tyrannical and illegal Method, was the way they took with the *Primitive Confessors*. When they professed themselves Christians, upon Judicial Accusations, their Persecutors tortured them to make them deny it: and still, the more bravely and resolutely they Confessed, the more barbarously were they tortured. When, in the Case of all other Criminals, † says *Tertullian*, you <sup>† Ad Nationes l. 1. c. 2.</sup> urge the Deniers by Torture to Confession: the Christians, when they Confess of themselves, you press by Torture to deny their Accusation. *Crudelius sc̄viebamus*, || says *Minutius*, || <sup>In Octavio, p. 31.</sup> ut torqueremus Confitentes ad Negandum. Quite contrary to what they did with others when accused, they put them to the Question for Confessing: and the more they Confessed, the more barbarously the others raged, and the more cruelly they Tortured them. Here then, the *Prætors*, and the *Presidents*, in all the Cities and Provinces, who in the Persecutions sate to Judge the Christians by Law, Tortured them against Law. And this breach of Law and Privilege, was in a Point the most dear and tender, of all others. For Life, and Member, are by far the most valuable Rights and Freeholds. And under these illegal Tortures, many expired, being Murdered by these wrongful and illegal Executioners. And if they survived the Torture, to Dye by a more formal stroke, the illegal Torture was much worse, and more terrible to bear, than the Death it self was. The Pains of Torture, were not less exquisite than the Pains of Death, but much longer. And it was a greater, and more tedious tryal of Patience, the bear the Rackings, and Tearings, and Burnings of the Flesh, and other most exquisite and studied Pains of the Tormentors: than, in the last and Capital Punishment, to endure the sudden *Stroke of the Sword*, or the *Teeth of the Bears and Lions*.

2. Again, in Judicial Tryals, Not to be heard in their own Defence, and permitted to speak for themselves, was absolutely against Law. *Inauditos, & indefensos*, as

44 *Their Legal Rights invaded by the Persecuting Emperors.*

† Apol.  
c. 2.

*Tertullian* † tells them, *non licet omnino damnari*. It is not the manner of the Romans, said *Festus* to the Jews, to deliver any Man to die, before he which is accused, have the Accusers Face to Face, and have Licence to answer for himself, concerning the crime laid against him. Act. xxv. 16. Nay, to deny them, not only the liberty of speaking for themselves, but the benefit of Advocates to speak and plead for them, was an illegal thing. This was a Provision and Allowance, which Law, and the Custom of the Courts, had made for the greatest Criminals. We were used to undertake the Patronage and Defence, of the Incestuous, yea, of the Sacrilegious, of Murderers and Parricides themselves, says || *Minutius* the Lawyer.

† In Octav. pag. 31.  
|| Quodcumque Dicimur, cum aliis Dicuntur, & proprio ore, & mercenaria advocacione utuntur, ad innocentie sue commendationem respondendi, altercandi facultas patet; quando nec licet indefensos & inauditos omnino Damnari. Tert. Apol. c. 2.

† Whatever ill is charged on us, (as the Heathens presumed the Christians Guilty, of Impiety, Sacrilege, Treason, and incestuous mixtures, &c.) when the same is judicially charged on others, they have liberty both to speak for themselves, and to Fee Advocates to make out their Innocence: there is freedom to answer, to plead and debate the matter: and all this, because it is by no means lawful to condemn any, till he has been heard, and made his Defence, says *Tertullian*. And such was the care of Law, and the course of Judicature, for all accused persons; that the Cognizance, and Disquisition of Court, rested not in the confession, or manifestation of General Names: but, before Sentence, proceeded further, to discuss the Quality and Circumstances of Actions.

† Si de aliquo nocente Cognoscitis, non statim confesso eo, nomen homicidae, vel Sacrilegi vel incesti, vel publici hostis (ut de nostris elogiis loquar) contenti sitis ad pronuncian- dum, nisi & consequentia ex- gatis, qualitatem facti, locum, Nationes, l. 1. c. 2. & c. 6.

† When you take Cognizance of any Criminals Case, says *Tertullian*, you do not think it enough to proceed to Sentence, on a bare confession of the name of Homicide, Sacrilegious, Incestuous, Publick Exe-

modum, tempus, conscios, Socios. Apol. cap. 2. & ad

my, (to instance in the Titles you give us :) but stay till you have discussed the Consequences, the quality of the Fact, the place where, the time when, the manner how, the instruments wherewith it was committed, who were Parties, and who were Privy to it.

But now, all these were carried contrary, in their Proceedings with the Christians. They were used to condemn them, without giving them the justice of a Hearing: not permitting them to plead their own Cause, nor admitting Advocates to plead it for them. When all this liberty of Pleading, either for themselves, or by their Council, is allowed by you to other Criminals: yet, says Tertullian, || to the Christians alone there is no permission to say any thing, that may purge the Crimes they are presumed Guilty of, or defend the Truth, or prevent the Judges passing an unjust Sentence. You do not allow them time, says † he again, to hear their Accusations, and to refute them. Tho we were ready to be Advocates, for Sacrilegious, and Parricides; yet, as for these, || says Minutius, we did not think fit to afford them any Hearing.

¶ Sed Christianis solis nihil permittitur loqui, quod causam purget, quod veritatem defendat, quod judicem non faciat injustum. Apol. c. 2.

† Neque accusationi, neque recusationi, spacium commode-tis. Ad Nation, l. 1. c. 2.

¶ Hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus, p. 31.

Or, if they did hear them at all, it was not *Discutere* de qualitate, circumstantiis, & ordine admissi; i. e. to discuss and take cognizance, of the quality, circumstances, and order wherein they perpetrated the Crimes alledged, as was always done with other Criminals: but that only you look after, † says Tertullian, which is necessary to expose us to the Publick Hatred, the confession of the Name [of Christian] not the examination of any of those Crimes, which you groundlessly presume to be practised by those, who profess that Name. They presumed the Name, to carry with it a sufficient Conviction of the most horrid Crimes. As of || Slaying of an Infant, and a Thyestean Banquet, or Feasting upon it: of all sorts of Lasciviousness, and Incestuous Mixtures at their Meetings, after the Dogs tied

† Apol. c. 2. & ad Nation. l. 1. c. 2. 6.

¶ Tertull. Apol. c. 7. Minut. Fel. p. 9.



to the Candlesticks, by leaping at a Crust cast before them for that purpose, had thrown down, and put out the Lights: Of Traiterous Conspiracies against the Emperor; and the like. But the Accusers never offered, nor did the Judges stay, for any other Evidence of all this, than their mere owning themselves Christians. They were always *Præsumpta*, never *Probata Crimina*; mere Presumptions without Proofs, as † Tertullian says. *Cum præsumptis de scelerebus nostris, ex nominis confessione*, says || he again: and

† Apol. c.

2.

|| Ib.

† Id. ad

Nation. 1.

1. c. 3.

|| Apol. c.

7.

† *ut inimicum nomen, sub præsumptione Criminum Puniatur.* That is, your way is to presume the Crimes, from the denomination of Christians; and to punish an hated name, under a presumption of Crimes, which it knows nothing of. The utmost, that ever was alleged in proof of these Crimes, was only uncertain hear-say, as || Tertullian notes, or common, but ungrounded Fame; which Judge, that pretends to Justice, will ever Condemn a Man, or take away his Life upon. All which, was most contrary to the Regular Course of Roman Justice, which went not by uncertain hear-says, that can make no Evidence; but by Proofs, which could aver the Crime to the Persons Face: Condemning no Man, as Festus said, till he had confronted the Evidence, there to make his exceptions,

† Et ideo Præses Provinciæ id sequatur, quod convenit cum ex fide eorum, quæ probabuntur. Digest. lib. 1. tit. 17. l. 6. §. veritas.

and had his Accusers Face to Face. † The President of the Province is to follow what is fit, proceeding by the Faith of what is proved, says the Law.

Such, in these Points, was the illegal usage, of the Martyrs and Confessors: and that, when they came upon their Tryal, not only for their Estates; but also for what is more to be valued, and what, when once injuriously taken away, is never to be restored or compensated, their Lives too.

3. Moreover, in Judicature, not to have any regard to Law, but all to his own will and pleasure, is not only illegal, but an utter overthrow of Laws. Making them of

no

no use to the Subject, which is the same for the time, as if there were no such things; and, instead of publick Laws, subjecting them to private Discretion, Inclination, and Affections. Now, this was sometimes the Case, both of the Christians, and other Subjects of the Empire, under some of the persecuting Emperors. *Galerius*, one of the bloodiest of them, *Dissolving all the Laws*, || says *Lactantius*, assumed and gave a Licence of all things to his Judges. Here was a turning Laws out of Doors, and Acting all by Discretion. And lest the Law, should make any part of those Judges Discretion; he sent out such into the Judgment-Halls, as did not know Law, and removed thence such as were capable to Plead, and lay it before them.

|| *Licentia rerum omnium solutis Legibus, assumpta, & iudicibus data. De Mort. Persec. c. 22.*

† He sent out Military Judges, adds he, that were ignorant of the Laws and learned Studies, and that too without Assessors, whose part it would have been to have given them direction therein, into the Provinces. He took away all Pleaders or Advocates; and either killed, or banished the learned Lawyers.

† *Judices militares humanitatis Literarum rudes, sine assessoribus in Provincias immissi. Causidici sublatis, Fure-Consultri aut relegati, aut necati. Ib.*

4. Further yet, to be thrown off as *Out-Laws*, and denied all benefit of Law and Justice, is to suffer the highest Invasion of Claims and Properties, and to be deprived of all Rights, and Laws which are the Guard thereof, at once. To invade even one Law, that is of main importance, and a chief Security to the Subjects, is thought by the Advocates for Liberty, a sufficient ground for Resistance against a Prince. This invading of a Law, amounts to no more, than denying us the benefit of that Law. And if it give such warranty, to be thus unjustly denied the benefit of one Law, in some concerning Case: how much stronger is the Argument, and greater the warranty for Arming themselves, when they are unjustly denied the benefit of all Laws, and not

not allowed the Protection or Claim of Law, in any Case? But under *Dioclesian*, this was the miserable, the unrighted, and exposed State of the Christians. The

¶ *Edictum quo cavebatur, ut adversus eos omnes actio cale- ret; ipsi non de injuria, non de Adulterio, non de rebus ablati- agere possent. De Mort. Persec. c. 13.*

Emperor ordered, as || *Lactantius* relates, by an *Edict*, that against them all, any Man might bring an Action: but as for them, they should be capable to bring none, neither on the score of any injury, nor of Adultery, nor for any thing, that had been taken from them.

5. Lastly, when a People suffer invasion of Rights, and groan under heavy Oppressions and Persecutions: to be denied the Liberty of Petitioning their Prince, or of Modestly setting out to him their sufferings, and humbly and dutifully praying Redress; is against the Common Liberties of Humanity and Nature, and the allowance of all just and equal Governments. Especially, to make such Petitions Capitally Criminal, and animadvert upon the Petitioners, by extreme barbarity, and unheard of ways; is monstrous illegality and injustice. But in the *Arian Persecution* under *Valens*, when the Christians knew of no other weapons against Persecutors, but Prayers and Tears, to use the Speech of † *Gregory* a stout Asserter of the Orthodox Faith in that Persecution, this was their Case. For no fewer, than eighty Clergy men, whereof *Urban*, *Theodorus*, and *Menedemus* were the chief, being sent by their suffering Brethren, to Petition the Emperor *Valens* at *Nicomedia*, and humbly to represent the Violences and Miseries they suffered, from the Persecuting Arians. To prevent Tumult and Sedition, as the Story is related by || *Socrates*, and † *Sozomen*, by openly murdering, against all Right and Reason, so many Pious Men, who had done nothing amiss; under pretence of Banishment, he ordered them all to be put on Board a Ship, as if they were to be Transported. And then, commanded the Mariners, when they had got them into the midst of the Sea,

† *Invect. p. 91.*

|| *Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 16.*  
† *Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 14.*

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*Sea, to set the Ship on Fire, (making their own escape by their Boat;) that this way, they might not only all die a miserable death, but when dead, be deprived of Sepulture.*

# CH A P. IV.

*The Christians Passive Obedience, under these Invaders of Legal Rights.*

**S**UCH, as we have seen, were the Civil Rights, and such was the invasion of them, and violation of Laws, practised upon the Primitive Christians, in the first Persecutions. Which I have been thus large upon, in the preceding Chapters, thinking nothing can serve more to clear up this Point, and shew what sort of Obedience and Non-Resistance that was, which the Apostles so strictly enjoined, and the Christians so Conscientiously paid, to the Powers of the Empire in the first Ages.

For what now said the Holy Bishops, and Fathers to their Flocks, in Point of Passive Obedience or Non-Resistance, to these illegal Oppressors, and Invaders of Civil Rights and Immunities? The forementioned Precepts of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, they make their Rules, esteeming them, as all Christians ought to do, for *Catholick Precepts*, given to guide Christians of every time and place, and that ought to bind up their own hands, in those hard and trying Days; as, in foregoing times, they had bound up the hands of their Predecessors. When persecuted under one, so far were they, in hopes of ease or quietness thereby, from setting up, or turning over to another, that, as † *Tertullian* † *Christi-* declares, they did not swerve from him so much as by a *anus non novit, de novo Cæsare optare.* secret Prayer, or *wish for a new Cæsar.* Apol.c.35.

Many had been the defections from the Emperors, and the aspiring spirits, who had *affected the Purple*, and set up themselves against them in all parts of the Empire, to try the Christians Loyalty and adherence to their

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Rightful



Rightful Princes, yea, to those, that either already had been, or afterwards proved, their bloody Persecutors. Such was

† In Pescen. Nig. pag. 218.  
3. Part. Hist. Aug. Script. vid.  
Suet. in Domit. c. 6. 10.

¶ In Domitiano.  
† In his Letter, ap. Vulcatium in Avid. Cassio, pag. 120, 121, 123. 3. Part. Hist. Aug. Script.

¶ Vid.  
Vulcat.  
Gallic. in  
Avid. Cass.  
p. 127.

† Vid.  
Vopisc. in  
Bonoso,  
p. 721. pt.  
3. Hist.  
Aug.  
Script. &  
in Probo  
ib p. 698.  
699.  
¶ Lib. 9.  
† Lib. 8.  
c. 6. Hist.  
Ecel.

*L. Antonius*, who, as † *Spartianus* says, was declared Emperor by the Army against *Domitian*, who was the Author of the *Second Persecution*: whom *Parthenius*, and *Sigerius*, and their complices, afterwards murdered; having first agreed with *Nerva*, as † *Dio Xyphilinus* reports, to take the Empire upon him. Such also were those many, whom the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* † speaks

of, that had Rebelled, and set up against the Emperors, *Trajan*, and *Hadrian*, and his Father *Pius*: under whom were the *Third* and *Fourth* Persecutions. And likewise that against *Marcus* himself, under whom was the *Fifth* Persecution of the Christians, by *Avidius Cassius*, on † pretence of *Marcus's* remissness, and neglect of the Publick, and the *Luxuriousness* and *Repaciousness* of his Ministers; all which, as *Cassius* alledged, endangered the *Common-Wealth*. Such also was the Affectation of Empire, and setting up for Emperors in Fact, of *Pescenninus Niger* in *Syria*, and of *Clodius Albinus* in *Gaul*, against the Emperor *Severus*, in whose time *Tertullian* writ his *Apologetick*, upon the setting on the *Sixth* Persecution. And afterwards, that of † *Bonofus*, as also of *Proculus*, and *Saturninus*, against the Emperor *Probus*. And after that again, the Defections of *Achilleus* in *Egypt*, and of *Carausius* in *Brittain*, † as *Eutropius* relates, who set up against *Dioclesian* before; as others did, says † *Ensebius*, some in *Armenia*, others in *Syria*, after his setting on of the *Tenth* Persecution.

Yet, under all these attempts for Change, even when the Right Emperors were most unjustly oppressive, and illegally hard upon them, as has been abundantly shewn; the Christians never run in among those that took up Arms, or swerved from their Duty and Allegiance. They still adhered to the Right, even when they suffered most by it; and never turned, in hopes of ease thereby, to the wrong side.

side. Which they did so constantly, in all places of the Empire, under all these Insurrections, and Oppositions of Powers; that the Christian *Advocates* and *Apologists*, could challenge all their industrious Enemies and Accusers, to shew wherein they had ever been Seditious, or sided with a Rebellious and Wrong Power against the Right, in any instance.

† *Whence came they*, says *Tertullian*, that in his Country *Recess* laid wait for *Cæsar*, viz. with *Parthenius* and *Sigerius*, who Conspired against *Domitian*? *Whence were the Adherents of Cassius, and Niger, and Albinus*? Were they not all from among your selves, *Heathen Romans*, but no *Christians*?

These two last Insurrections, under *Niger*, and *Albinus*, were fresh at the time of his Writing, and a strict inquisition had been made after all the Partners, that abetted, or adhered to them.

† *Even at this time*, says he, *there is still an inquisition going on to discover them*; like a *Gleaning of Grapes*, after the great clusters were gone. And yet, so clear were the *Christians* from any share therein, that he challenges the *Heathen Priests*, after all this search for those that followed and sided with these Usurpers against their Lawful Prince, out of any of their Records, to produce one *Christian* among them.

After this, *Origen* † tells *Celsus*, when he objected a *Seditious Rise to the Christians*, that neither he, nor any of his Party, would ever be able to produce any *Work of Sedition*, that had ever been acted by any *Christians*.

Soon after this, *S. Cyprian* in like manner tells *Demetrian*, how *Passive* they were under the most bitter Persecutions, not standing up by Force to Right themselves, but referring it to God, as a most just Judge, to Right their Cause. *Forthence it is*,

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† *Unde Cassii, & Nigri, & Albini? Unde qui inter duas Laurus obsident Cæsarem? De Romanis (nisi fallor) id est De non Christianis. Apol. c. 35.*

— *Nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani, inveniri poterunt Christiani: ad Scap. c. 2.*

|| *Sed & qui nunc Scelerum Partium Socii aut Plausores, quotidie revelantur, post vindictam Parricidarum racematio superstes. id Apol. c. 35.*

† *Οὐδὲν γὰρ σάπας ἔργον ἀνδρίζει χριστιανῶν ὁ κέλευς, ἢ δι' ὁμονοίας αὐτῶ δυνάσονται. Contra Cellum, lib. 3. pag. 115.*

† *saith*

† Quos laesos [Persecutionibus] ultio divina defendit. Inde est enim, quod nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur: nec se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur. Ad Demet. p. 192. Ed. Oxon.

‡ Neque tunc civitas Christiani, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in Terris, & haberet tam magnorum agmina Populorum, adversus impios Persecutores, pro temporali salute pugnavit; sed potius, ut obtineret eternam non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cedebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro salute pugnare, nisi salutem pro Salvatore contemnere. Aug. de Civit. Dei lib. 22. cap. 6.

Julian himself, their most industrious and spiteful Accuser, gives this Testimony to them, that instead of siding with any, that were going to make Insurrection, they were for suppressing them. † If they see any mutinying, or moving Tumults against the King, they presently punish him severely.

† Παλὸν εἰς τὴν εἰς τὴν Βασιλέα ἀνίστηεν ἀπαρξάντας πᾶς ἀνὴρ μάλα κολαζομέν. Fragment. Epitt. Jul. Imp. operum p. 528.

Such were the Principles of Patience and Non-resistance, which the Christian Doctors taught, and the People practised, during all the Primitive Persecutions, when they suffer'd, as the most cruel and barbarous, so the most illegal things. And therefore, upon the Conspiracy of **Magentius**, a Christian General, against the Emperor **Constans**: Here first, alas! the Christian Captains, \* says **Baronius**, spur'd on by a lust of

\* Hic primum (proh dolor) dira perciti regnandi Libidine, Christiani Duces in Christianum conspirant Imperatorem, cum olim ne Gregarius quidem Miles (teste Tertulliano) inveniri posset, qui adversus Imperatores, licet ethnicos, & Christianorum quoque Persecutores, à Partibus aliquando steterit insurgentium Tyrannorum. Aynal. Baron. ad an. 350.

Govern-

Government, conspire against a Christian Emperor, when in former times, not so much as a common Soldier, as Tertullian testifies, could ever be found to side with any Upstarts or Usurpers against the lawful Emperors, tho they were Heathens, and cruel Persecutors of the Christians.

Indeed, I think no Times have afforded better pleas for Resistance, than those under the *Primitive Persecutions*. Which yet were so eminent for *Passive Obedience*, or *Faith and Patience*, without taking Arms against their Governors to defend themselves. For,

Under *Dioclesian*, and his Partner *Maximian*, but especially under *Galerius*, there were the greatest Rapes committed upon Property, and the most insupportable Taxes raised by the most illegal ways; inquiring illegally by Torture into Estates, for the heightning of Payments. Nay, putting Servants to the Question against their Lords, contrary to the Law, which forbids Servants to be tortured against their Masters. Yea, torturing even Children to confess against their Parents, and Wives against their Husbands, as † *La-† De Mor. Persec. c. 7. 8. 23.* *stantius* relates. Here was another sort of Invasion of Property, than that so much insisted on in the great Rebellion, viz. of enforced Loans, Privy Seals, and Ship-money. And if Invasion of Properties can discharge Allegiance, the Christians were at Liberty, and might have taken Arms in those days.

There was also a Denial of Law, and of the course of Justice, unless they would purchase it by unlawful Worship and Sacrifices. For Heathen Altars, as the || same || *ib. c. 15.* Author notes, were erected before the Tribunals, that the Litigants might first sacrifice, before they could bring on their Cause. An † *Edict* also had order'd, that against them, any † *ib. c. 13.* one might bring an Action: but that they, on any injury, should not be allow'd to bring any, as I observ'd before. This was a Denial of Protection. And if Subjects are under no obligation to Allegiance, where they are denied Protection; yea, or even where they miss of it against their Rulers Wills, through their incapacity for the present.



sent to afford it; according to some present Casuists way of stating this Question: Why might not the Christians, have thought themselves discharged, from paying any thing to these Emperors?

There was *nothing of Law, but arbitrariness in all their*  
 \* ib. c. 22. *Courts, where Galerius, as I noted above,\* dissolving all the Laws, assumed and gave a License of all things to his Judges. And if men, that have Laws and Birth-rights, may rise up for their Laws and Liberties, against Governors, who will invade both, and be arbitrary and illegal in their Administrations: how could the Christians stand obliged, to be quiet and passive, in this very case?*

There was a *murdering men for poverty, the same Gale-*  
 rius, in the illegal course of raising his insupportable Tax,  
 † ib. c. 23. *† commanding all the Beggars, who were unable to pay any thing towards it, to be gathered together; and then, to deter any from pleading Poverty, being exported in Ships, to be drown'd in the Sea. This is not only against all Humane and Divine Laws, but is such a degree of madness, as methinks, might much better pass for a proof of one not mentis compos, or besides himself, than the K. of Portugals bloody Acts and Barbarities, which of late have been made use of by several in this Dispute. And if no Allegiance is due, in case of Frenzy, or moral incapacity, appearing, not in the ordinary Crazedness and inconsistency of a mans Carriage, but only by such Actions; and there too, from the extravagance of unjust Cruelty, or furious Passion in those Acts, not from any whimsical Silliness and Ridiculousness of the Reasons and Pretences for them: there would not, in my Opinion, have been much due to him. Nor to Valens, who, like a frantick man, did the same, as I noted, to no less than eighty Clergy-men, who were sent by their suffering Brethren humbly to petition him. Nor to Nero, who for his sport, and the more lively humoring of a Song, viz. the taking of Troy, which, as || Suetonius relates, he joyfully sung over it in his scenical habit at that time, set the City of Rome it self all in a flame.*  
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There was a Subversion of the Roman Constitution, as I hinted before; *Galerius* turning the State of *Subjects*, into that of *Slaves* or *Captives*, with whom he might take any Liberties, and use what Violence he pleased. He alter'd, as the \* *Romans* complained, their *Form*, which was \* *Latib.* *Potentia Civilis*, as *Tertullian* says, a Power legal and politick; into one that was *Arbitrary* and *Despotick*: affecting to rule like the *Persian Kings*, who treated their *Subjects*, † says *Lactantius*, *tanquam familia*, merely at Discretion, † *ib.* and in a *despotick* way. Here, as some would have told them, was a legal Government laid aside, and an illegal set up instead thereof. And if there is no Allegiance due to a lawful Governor, when he lays aside the Laws, and breaks in upon the Constitution it self, such an one being no longer the Governor their Law and Constitution owns: the Christians might have been free in Conscience to look to themselves, and to stand up with others for their common Defence, against all his barbarous and illegal Usage.

I will add but one Plea more. There was a treating of the *Romans*, and other *Subjects* of the Empire, more like *Enemies* than *Subjects*. Thus, *Lactantius* || complains || *ib. c. 23.* of *Galerius*, that he treated them after the same manner, as he would have done to any others, by the Right of War: using these *Free-born Subjects*, as their *Ancestors* were wont to use their *Captives*. Yea, at his first coming to the Empire, as \* he observes, he professed himself an *Enemy* of the Roman \* *c. 27.* Name, and would have changed the Title, so as to be styled, not the *Roman*, but the *Dacian Emperor*. Thus also under *Dioclesian*, *Eusebius* † says that the *Martyrs* were oppugn'd, † *ἐκείνους μὴ κοινῶν νόμων, πολλὰ μὲν ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος πεπελοισμένην.* not by common way and form of Law, as *Subjects*, but by Right of War, as if they had been publick *Enemies*. *Li-* *cence* was given, as *Phileas* the Martyr reports, || in his *Epistle* sent from Prison to his Church, to any one that would, to abuse them; which some did beating them with Clubs, some with Rods, some with Whips. The President telling them, to have no care or regard at all, what they did to them. *Euseb.* *p. 304.* *† ib. ap.*

but

but to look upon them, and use them, as if they were not men. Thus likewise Maxentius, upon a very light and small Pretence, as † Eusebius tells us, set the Guards one day to fall upon the Roman People, to cut them off, as they would an Enemy, in heat of Battel. And so slew an innumerable multitude of Romans, not in fighting against foreign Foes, by the Arms of Scythians and Barbarians, but by the hands of their own Citizens, and in the midst of the City it self. Here, would some have been apt to suggest, instead of an Head and Governor, did each of these bloody and persecuting Emperors, put on the person of an Enemy of his people. As Nero also would have been thought by them, when he designedly, and \* but too openly, as may be seen in † Hist. 1.8. C. 14. Suet. Ner. c. 38. *Suetonius, set fire to the City, which was as much, as the conquering Gauls did, or would have been done on the irruption of any foreign Foe. And if no Allegiance is due to a Prince, when, not by open Professions, but only by the mischievousness of his Counsels or Actions, he may be interpreted to turn Enemy of his People: the Christians under these, and many other Monsters of Blood and Cruelty, might in Conscience have been at much more liberty, than ever they believed themselves to be.*

Thus, had they lived in those days, might the modern Casuists and Advocates for Resistance, have urged all the Pleas, of Invasion of Liberties and Properties; of ceasing of Protection, from unjust Powers; of breach of Laws, and alteration of very Forms and fundamental Constitutions; of Rulers ceasing to be *mentis compotes*, or falling under mental or moral Incapacities, or their turning publick Enemies, and the like; against the now exploded Doctrine, of Faith, and Patience, and Non-resistance, under the fiery tryal of the primitive Persecutions. But those blessed Martyrs and Confessors, had not so learned Christ. These illegal Invaders of Rights, and bloody Persecutors of Religion, they still own'd and suffer'd, as Gods Vicegerents. And, as our Lord himself, and his blessed Apostles taught, and practis'd: so these their true Followers took care, even in such

such Violators of Rights, never to resist the Ordinance of God, which by S. Paul has *Damnation* annex'd to it; but to submit to them, not only for wrath, but also for Conscience sake. They stuck to the Faith, and Laws of Christ, with Courage and Resoluteness; and bore, and broke all the unjust violence of the persecuting Powers, with Patience; and never countenanced, or joyn'd, in any of the numerous Insurrections made against them, tho they had so much Temptation to it for their own fleshly ease, as appears from *Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, &c.* in the forecited Testimonies. And the like will be done by all others, who are for trusting their Souls with theirs, and think them safer in those primitive and first taught ways, than in any of the so much fancied and magnified new Inventions.

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CHAP. V.

*Of passive Obedience under Invasions of Legal Rights among the Jews.*

A Greeable to this belief and practice, of the *Christians* under the *New Testament*; was that also of the *Jews* under the *Old Testament*, in this case.

This was seen in their Carriage towards those Kings, both in *Judah* and *Israel*, who introduced and set up an *Idolatrous Worship*. To bring in, or to maintain *Idolatry*, was an Invasion upon the Law of their Land, as well as upon the Rights of God. Yea, and that in a point, which may seem the very ground and bottom of their Law, and among the most fundamental, as many now to move *Stirs* would have taught them, in the *Jewish Constitution*. For the *Civil State of Jury*, was at first a *Theocracy*. The true God, was not only their God, whom they were to observe in regard to another World: but their King too, under whom they were incorporated, and to unite together as a Society of this World. As a Polity of this

I World,



\* Tāv 'Ie  
Sūmō De-  
sūmō De-  
sūmō De-  
sūmō De-  
p. 34.

† v. 9. 11.

¶ c. 13.  
8. 9.

\* 1 King.  
xix. 14.

World, they were *Gods People*, who modell'd their Constitution, and prescribed them their Laws, from whom, and in whose Name, was Legislation and Judicature, and who, as their supreme Orderer and Director, was to be consulted, for Peace and War. The *Law of Moses*, whom *Longinus* calls the \* *Legislator of the Jews*, was the *Law of their Land*. And this Law, was a *political Covenant* betwixt them and the true God, all to be observ'd in keeping under him, not in Defection from him. Hence, the going to serve other Gods, is by way of eminence call'd *working Wickedness* in breaking or transgressing his Covenant. Deut. 17. 2, 3, &c. And accordingly, *Moses*, having the two Tables of the Law in his hands, which he † calls the *Tables of Gods Covenant with the Jews*; brake both the Tables before their eyes, when he saw them fallen from the *Worship of God*, to the *Golden Calf*. Thereby noting the Covenant to be broken by *Idol-Worship*, and that these Laws or Tables, were a Charter or Covenant, to incorporate them under the true God, not under Idols. Deut. 9. 17. And answerably, on any such defection, such Inquisition and Procedure, both towards *Seducers* and *Seduced*, was appointed thereby, without any Allowance of Misprision or || *Concealment* even of the dearest person, as is proper for the highest *State Crime*. c. 13. and c. 17. So that for any King, to go to set up other Gods in *Jury*; was not only to act illegally, or break thro Laws and Statutes among them; but to undermine the very bottom of all their Laws, and break in upon the main and most important things in the Jewish Law or Constitution.

Now *Ahab*, suppressed the *Worship of the true God* in *Israel*, which was the legal and establish'd Religion; banish'd and put to death the *Prophets*, extirpated the Professors, in Appearance, so far, as that they seem'd even clean gone to \* *Elijah himself*. And having pull'd down the *Worship of God*, prescribed by Law; set up the *Worship of Baal*, that was forbid by Law, and all by his own Authority. Here, was mere Will and Power, over-ruling Laws;

Laws; and illegal Invasion and arbitrary Power, in the most tender and fundamental points: and all this acted to the highest Extremities, and with greatest Outrage. But yet all this would not authorize their levying War, and rising in Arms, against this impious and illegal Invader of Religion and Laws. Even *Elijah*, whose *Spirit* goes further in opposition and return of ill, than † *Christs* doth, † Luk. ix. calling down fire from Heaven to consume those that were sent to take him: yet opposes all this, only by freedom of Confession, and saves himself by flight, and enjoys his Soul in Patience, and seeks Redress by Prayers and Trust in Providence. But never solicits, nor seeks to stir up the many Thousands in Israel, both *Priests and People*, who possibly might have some Remains of Faith and Zeal for the Lord of Hosts, to defend their legal and establish'd Worship, and keep out Heathenism against their King, by Insurrection and Rebellion. But wicked, idolatrous, and illegally administring *Ahab*, and his *House*, were to hold his Crown, till God himself, who is the rightful Judge of Princes, expressly deposed and disauthorized them, and, not by mere course of Providence, but by || *particular Nomination*, and the anointing of a Prophet, set *Jehu* upon his Throne.

|| 1 King. xix. 16. & 2 King. ix. 5, 6, 12, 13

What more common among the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, than to persecute the true Worship of God; and to set up, and impose a false one, in its stead. All the *Kings of Israel*, were open and plain Idolaters. And so were several, of the *Kings of Judah*. Particularly, \* *Abaz* shut \* 2 Chron. xxviii. 2, 3, up the doors of the House of the Lord, fell to the Abomination of the Heathen, and made him Altars in every corner of Jerusalem. And † *Manasseh*, brought the Heathen Idols into the very Temple of Jerusalem: excluding and banishing the true God, whose Worship was settled by Law, from his own House; and setting up the Abomination of Idols, which the Law forbade, in the most publick places. Here, is legal Truth, arbitrarily turned out: and illegal Error, as arbitrarily set up, even in the authorized and most publick places, the Churches and Temples

\* 2 Chron. xxviii. 2, 3, 24.

† 2 Chron. xxxiii.

of the Land. And this, against all Religion, and National Laws; even those, that in the style of many now to stir up Insurrection, would be call'd most essential to the Civil Constitution it self; and which were not dependant on the King, either to make, or to repeal them. But *Elijah* and *Elisha*, *Micha* and *Isaiah*, and all the other holy Prophets, who, of all persons, were the fittest, as the Trump of God, to sound to Arms, and call men to rise in Gods Cause: yet, when sent to cry out, against this dishonor of God, and breach of Laws, they did it only as Confessors, not as Ring-leaders to Rebellion. They never attempted this course for redress, nor stirr'd up the People, to defend God and the Laws against their Kings by armed Resistance, or by Deposing of those impious and arbitrary Princes.

|| 1. Sam.  
xxii. 18.

To descend now from Religion, when taken into the Law, and made a *Civil Right*, to *Property*. *Saul* persecuted *David*, not in any way of Law and Justice, but of mere wilful Fury and Cruelty, to shed his *innocent Blood*: as he had already done, by the Blood of a || Number of *Priests*, without any regard, either to the Innocence of the Men, or the Sacredness of their Function. This sure was an Invasion of Rights, not only the common Rights of Humanity, but of their *Civil Rights*, of the *sixth Commandment* saying *Thou shalt not kill*, which was not only the Law of God, but the Law of their Land, or of *Jury*. Now whilst *Saul* was acting thus against Law, and invading Rights; doth *David* think he has lost all claim to his former Submission, and may be looked on thenceforward, and opposed, as a mere unauthorized person? No, but owns him for the *Lords anointed* at that very time; and thereupon, that he could not do against him, what was unlawful against one, of that Character and Denomination. *How can I stretch forth my hand against him, and be guiltless, seeing he is the Lords anointed.* 1 Sam. xxvi. 9. Like as afterwards, whilst *Pilate* was passing an unjust Sentence in a *Case of Blood*, and that against his own  
Con-

Conscience and Confessions: our Lord still owns him as one, that *had Power over him from above.* Jo. xix. 11.

Such likewise was the breach of Property, when *Ahab*, against all Law and Justice, *seized Naboth's Vineyard*, together with his Life, which was a much more valuable *Freehold*. And when *Jezabel* fill'd all places, with illegal Executions; keeping alive the *Priests of Baal*, whom the Law utterly and inexorably destroy'd: and *destroying all the Prophets of the Lord she could find*, good *Obadiah* venturing his life, to *hide and maintain an hundred of them by Fifties in a Cave* from her fury, all whom the Law protected. And when the Kings and Princes, of *Judab* and *Israel*, were complain'd of by \* *Isaiah*, for *Exactions*, and *Oppressions*, and *perverting of Justice*. As others were by † *Jeremy*, || *Ezekiel*, ‡ *Hosea*, \* *Amos*, † *Micha*, || *Zephaniah*, &c. for *Grinding the Faces of their Subjects*, *shedding innocent Blood*, and *turning aside the Poor in the Gate from their Right*. But tho here was breach of Laws, and legal Properties: yet was this never allow'd, as a just Pre-  
\* c. iii.  
14, 15.  
† Jer. xxii.  
17.  
|| Ezek.  
xxii. 27.  
‡ Hof. vi. 9.  
\* Am. v. 12  
† Mich. iii.  
1, 2, 3. 9.  
10, 11.  
|| Zeph.  
iii. 3..

tence for the injured Subjects, by force of Arms to do themselves Right, and rebel against such invading Prin-ces. The holy Prophets talk'd of no Forfeitures of Crowns, or Depositions of Kings, or discharge of Duty and Allegiance, on these Accounts: but refer'd them to God, the Supreme Judge, to right them against their invading Sovereigns. This in those days was their Maxim, as it is in the Words of Rabbi *Jeremiah*; *No creature may judge the King, but the holy and blessed God alone.*

|| Some, indeed, think to turn by the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, forbidding this Resistance among the *Jews*, as of no force with us, because *they had Kings immediately delegated by God, either in Answers from the Cloud of Glory, or Unction by Prophets*. And what was there forbid against such a King, they think is only of force under others, who come in by like special prophetic Delegation.

Now as to this, it solves not the Argument, from the Dueness of Non-resistance to *Jewish* or *Israelitish* Kings:  
 for

|| See An  
 Inquiry  
 into the  
 meas. of  
 Submis.  
 to the  
 Sup. Aut.  
 Art. 8.



for that was as due to those that wanted, as to those that had these immediate Nominations. It was as due to *Ahab*, and all those other Kings of *Israel*, that were such Invaders of Laws and Rights, as I observed, as to *Jeroboam*, or to *Jehu*. And yet, among the Kings of *Israel*, *Jeroboam*, and *Jehu* alone, had this propheticall Nomination; all the rest coming in by humane Titles, like the Kings of other Nations. And as due to *Hezekiah*, and *Josiah*, and all the other Kings of *Judah*, that were Kings by descent; as to *Saul*, or *David*, who were set up by immediate Message from God. And yet, after *David*, and *Solomon*, the Crown in *Judah*, went by the course of Descent in the Royal Blood, without any Interposition, so far as we can see in Scripture, of Gods personal Nomination. Even in *Joash's* Case, who was set up against *Athaliah* after six years possession, no such thing was pretended. *Jehoiada the Priest*, who managed that Revolution, not pretending for young *Joash*, any Message of a Prophet, or Answer from the Cloud of Glory, which, had that been their method of setting up Kings in those days, he, as chief Priest, should have consulted; but only his heritable Right according to the Constitution of *Jury*, or being of † the *House of David*.

† 2 Chron.  
xxiii. 3.

Besides, Non-resistance, and other Duties to Sovereign Governors, do not depend upon the method, or way of coming into Power; but only on that rightful Power and Authority, they are come into. *Honor thy Father, obey Magistrates, submit to the King as supreme, be subject to the Higher Powers*, and other like Sayings of Scripture requiring these Duties, look only at the Authority. If a Man is the true Father, the rightful Power, and the lawful King, they ask no more to make all these due to him: making no difference, whether he comes to have this Right, by an Humane Title, or by a Divine.

Now all that Gods personal Nomination doth, is, as other personal Titles do, to fix the Power in a certain person. It gives no enlargement of Power, or greater extent

tent of Prerogative. And not widening or enlarging the Authority, it can make, or call for no more Duty. And accordingly, these Duties, were as much the due of those Kings, that came in by humane Titles among the *Jews*; as of those, who were personally named by God himself. And they are as due, to any Kings of other Nations, as they were to *Jewish* Kings. For Government, is instituted of God, for all Nations, as well as *Jury*. And Obedience to Governors, is a natural Duty. So that Subjects of all Governments, are call'd to pay these Duties, as much as the *Jewish* Subjects were. Now to bid men be *subject*, and *submissive*, and *obedient*, and *not to resist*, and the like, are as plain and full, as I noted at first, as the most ordinary Understandings need to be taught, against all Resistance. What said God more than this against Resistance, to the *Jews*, when he named any King himself? Nay, if we come to make Comparisons, where are the Sayings against it, under any such Kings, so numerous and express? And these are as plain, if Men are willing to understand what God plainly tells them, when spoken in case of a *Roman* Emperor, who had a humane Title; as they would have been, in case of *Saul*, who had a divine Title.

They are due to any persons, as having *Gods Authority*, and being his Vicegerents. Thus || *S. Paul* notes of all *Duties of Subjects*, and particularly of *Non-resistance*, saying, *They that resist shall receive Damnation*, as resisting the *Powers that be of God*, and the *Ordinance of God*, and requiring *Subjection out of Conscience*, because *they are Gods Ministers*. So that as to matter of Resistance, any other King has the conscionable Bar against it, as much as a King of Gods own naming, if he be but *Gods Minister* and *Ordinance*. But now the Power of Kings by humane Titles, is Gods Power, and God owns this way of coming in, and empowers them as much, as those that come in by his own personal Nomination: declaring, that their Power is his Power, and that they are *his Ministers* and *Ordinance*.

|| Rom. xiii. 1, 2.  
4, 5.

dinance. All which, S. Paul says as expressly of the Roman Emperor, as he could have said of any Prince, immediately call'd out, and commission'd by God himself.

The seditious Jews, I conceive were of this Opinion, that the Heathen Powers, not set up by any Revelations, but left to humane Claims, were not *Kings of Gods making*. And so were wont to despise, and speak slightly of them: *Despising Dominion, and speaking evil of Dignities*, as S. Jude says of the *Seditious Judaizers*, v. 8. But S. Paul tells such Men, that these Powers, were as truly of God, as any of their own Nation: and that Gods Command, for obeying Powers, was as much for obeying these, as it had been for obeying them. *There is no power, saith he, but of God. And he that resists the Power, resists the Ordinance of God.* *Ἀπαρνησάμενος*, the Divine Precept, viz. the fifth Commandment, or other Precepts, that oblige Subjects, and empower Princes, and give as much Duty to these Heathen Powers, as they had done to any among the Jews, Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

And like to this, of the different ways of their coming in, making no difference in our Duties to them, we find in other instances. In point of Property, we come into our Lands and Possessions, by an humane Law and Allotment; but they came into theirs in Canaan, by a \* divine. But yet there is as much Stealing, and a breach of the eighth Commandment, in taking away our things from us; as there was, in taking away theirs from them. And in case of Servitude, the Primitive Masters came by their Servants, either as their Captives, taken in War; or as their Purchase, bought with money like their Cattle in the Markets: but we by Contract, all our Servants voluntarily submitting themselves to us, and at their own choice. Yet, for all this different Rise of Masters Powers, when once Servants are got under them, the same Gospel Precepts, of Diligence, Fidelity, and not answering again, &c. do equally oblige in both Cases. The Duties respecting either Power, or Property, depend not on the particular

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\* Numb.  
xxvi. 53,  
54, 55, 56.  
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xxxiv. 13.  
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mannre of coming in : but only on the *Rightfulness*, and *Degrees*, of that Power and Property, which any Persons are come in to. More Power, I grant, there is in some Princes, and more Liberties to some Subjects, than to others, according to the difference of Civil Governments and Constitutions. But since the Power of the *Jewish* Kings, was a Power *limited by Laws*, as ours is; an Invasion of Laws and Rights, can no more justifie Resistance in our Case, than it did in theirs. And to say they did not come into this limited and Legal Power the same way, makes no difference as to this business.

The Scriptures of the *New Testament* likewise, † they †<sup>Ib. Art.</sup> endeavor to turn off, by saying, *they only bind us not to resist, when true Religion has Laws against it : but for all those Precepts, we may resist, when it has a Law on its side.* If we may do thus, when we have a Law for Religion : then, since Law is as good in one Case, as in another, when we have a Law for Liberty, or Property, or any thing else. But this, as I have shewn, is contrary to the sense of those Gospel Precepts, and to the Belief and Practice of Gospel and Primitive Times. Which tied up the Hands of Christians, when they suffered illegal things, and were treated by their Governors, in numerous and most concerning Points, against the Laws.

Again, || they say those Precepts were directed against || <sup>Ib. Art.</sup> *Jews, who were not for submitting, or paying Allegiance, to 10. Foreigners, or Heathens.* Admit they had one Eye against these: yet, at the same time, they had as much against any others, that would have run into the same *Jewish* Practice, or have been for making Warlike Resistance to those Powers, on any other pretences. The thing those Precepts are plainly for securing, is *Non-Resistance to those Powers, notwithstanding any thing, that could be alledged against them.* And as the *Jews* might pretend in those days, that they were Foreigners, and Heathens: so might others, and with as much truth too, that they were Invaders of Laws, of Rights, and Liberties. And yet for all these,



or any other pretences Seditious Spirits should start, the *Apostles* peremptorily injoyn all good Christians, to own them still as *Gods Ordinance*, and to forbear all *warlike Resistance* towards them, *not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake*. And thus, in obedience to those injunctions, they all practised at that time: as their followers did, in the succeeding Persecutions. And the Scriptures are written for a Rule of *Christs Church*, alike in all times: as much to us, as they were to former Ages. So that these Precepts, both of *Old and New Testament*, are as binding upon us, as ever they were, upon either the *Jews*, or the *Primitive Christians*. And whatever pretences were pleadable in their Case, whilst the Inspired Pen-men told them they were bound not to Resist: to be sure those same pretences, can never Cancel our Obligation more than it did theirs, or make it lawful for us do it. We must follow them to Heaven, in the same way the Apostles taught, and they took; or else we are not like to get thither at all.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of the unlawfulness of Resistance, on such Invasions of Rights, by our own Laws.*

**T**O all this, which I have hitherto Discoursed, from the Obligations, both of *Jews*, and *Christians*; I shall now Thirdly, In the *Thrid Place*, Note from our own Laws, how little Ground there is with us in these Realms, to take up Arms against our Sovereigns for any Rights, because of their being Legal; or for Religion, because of its being taken into the Law of the Land. For those very Laws, which establish our Religion, and particularly the *Act of Uniformity*, forbid this way of Defence, and declare it unlawful on any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King.

This Declaration was made, upon occasion of the *Great Rebellion* begun in 41. and for preventing any ones falling in-

to the like again. And therefore, by any Pretence whatsoever, it must more particularly include all those Pretences, which were given out for taking Arms at that time. And those Pretences, as may be seen from the Votes and Declarations of that Parliament, a brief Account whereof is given in the View of the late Troubles, were, the † Preservation of Liberty and Property; of Religion and Laws; of the Privileges of Parliament, who are the Conservators of all our Rights; and for || keeping out of Foreign Forces, which the King was said to be endeavouring to bring in, to enslave this Kingdom. Which Pretences, are the best that can be invented for forcible Defence, and so, as oft as they are bent on change, will probably be made use of, by Men of like Minds in latter Ages.

Indeed, so far as Words and plain Declarations can do it, our Law seems to have taken all the Care the Wit of Man can take before hand, to prevent all Recourse to this way of Defence against our Lawful Sovereigns, by leaving none in this way to be our Defenders, or capable to pretend a Power of making use thereof. If any could lift Armies against the King, not only in Defence of private Rights, but of the Laws, or the very Constitution it self, when the Kings chance to break in upon them: It would certainly be the two Houses of Parliament. But the Act about the Militia 13. Car. 2. c. 6. and 14. Car. 2. c. 3. declares the Power of the Militia, so much contested by the Parliament in King Charles the First's time; yea, and that on this very Pretence, that they might therewith Defend the Laws and Liberties against him: to be solely in the King. And that neither one, nor both the Houses of Parliament, can, or lawfully may, Levy any War, either Offensive, or Defensive, against him. So that take even the most Defensible Rights, which seem best to deserve a War; and put them into their Hands, who have the best Claim to be their Defenders: and yet tis plain by this Act, that they are not to defend them against the King, by Levying War, or Lising Soldiers.

† Vid. p. 96, 97, 98, 99.

|| P. 70, 71, 88, 90.

Tis true, our Parliaments are taken into the Government, and have a share in the Highest Acts, as *making Laws*. Whence some have argued, that upon the Princes Breaking in upon the Legislative Power, the Parliament may take Arms against such an Invader, as one Sovereign may against another. This Inference, is directly against the Act last mentioned, which declares they have no Power against him, either for any *Offensive, or Defensive War*.

But to clear this Point, this Share of theirs in the Legislation, as I conceive, is not a *Sovereign's*, but a *Subject's* Part. They are called in to consult, and with Authority of Negative, upon all Laws to be imposed on them : which is a great Security, indeed, of their being well-governed, and bound to nothing but what is for their Benefit, no Law being to be made or repealed, without their own Consent. But this Liberty of consulting, and Authority of Negative, is still under the King the *only Sovereign* ; nor on equal Terms with him, as *two Independant Sovereigns*. Agreeably, we find the Stile in the Acts so often is, *Be it enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and by Authority of the same*. As 37. H. 8. c. 4. & 25. H. 8. c. 11. & 19. H. 7. c. 18. & 23. & 3. Edw. 4. c. 4. & 7. Edw. 4. c. 3. & *passim*. Or, *our Lord the King, by the Advice and Assent of the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the Request of the Commons in this Parliament Assembled, and by Authority of the same, hath Ordain'd and Establish'd*. Sc. 12. Edw. 4. c. 8. Tho the King is not *Absolute*, without Rules in Governing ; nor *alone*, without Partners in Legislation : yet is theirs only a Subjects Part, not a Coordinate Sovereigns ; and *he alone is Supreme*, both in Legislation and Execution.

For our Law, and Church too, fixes all the *Sovereignty of the Realm solely in the King*. *The Kings Majesty hath the Chief Power in this Realm of England* Sc. unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil in all Causes doth appertain ; † Say the 39. Articles of Religion.

gion. He is the only Supreme Governor, of this, and all other his Realms, in all Temporal things, as well as Spiritual, says the Oath of Supremacy. His Realm recognizes no Superior under God, but only his Grace, says Stat. 25. H. 8. c. 21. His Parliaments, when they meet, both sit, and Act, only as his Subjects, not as his Compere Sovereigns, he not having *Pareem in Regno suo*, as \* *Bracton* says. For by order of Law, they \* 1. 7. c. 8. were to take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; professing by those Solemnities of Religion, that he is the sole Sovereign, and that they, whilst acting there, are only his Subjects. When, during their Session, they make to him any Addresses, they stile themselves *his Majesties most Loyal, and Dutiful Subjects*. Yea, in Acts and Statutes themselves, they have often used the same Stile; calling, as him, *their Gracious Leige Lord and Sovereign*; so themselves, *his Humble, Loving and Dutiful Subjects*, in those Acts of Legislation. In all Humble manner shew unto your most excellent Majesty, your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons &c. says Stat. 12. Car. 2. c. 30. We your Majesties most Faithful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons &c. says Stat. 1. Jac. c. 1. We your Majesties most Loving, Faithful, and Obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons &c. representing the three Estates of this Realm, (so bearing only the Part and Place of Subjects in that Representation,) says Stat. 1. Eliz. c. 1. and the like may be seen in the Acts under Q. Mary, as in Stat. 1. Mar. Sess. 2. c. 1. under King Edward 6. as Stat. 1. Edw. 6. c. 14. and K. Henry 8. as Stat. 37. H. 8. c. 4. & c. 17.

By all which, I conceive, it plainly appears, that the two Houses sit with the King in Parliament, and concur in making Laws, not as Coordinate Powers, that are equal to him; but as Subordinate under him: not in Place of Sovereigns, but of Subjects under him their sole Sovereign. So that if any Parliaments head Insurrections against our Kings, they are Wars of Subjects still against their Sovereigns, and such as they neither can, nor Lawfully may make; no not in their own Defence, as the Statute says.

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¶ *Thoughts  
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9, 10. 23.*

But † some Appeal from the *Letter* of these Laws and Legal Declarations, to the *Equity* of them; and think, tho' the *Letter* of the Law condemns resisting Subjects, that the *Equity* thereof will acquit and justify them.

This Plea of Equity, against the *Letter* of these Laws and Legal Declarations, is for excepting some particular Cases, from being meant and comprehended in the general Terms used therein: and that is by way of Presumption, that the Makers of those Laws and Declarations would have excepted them, had the Cases been foreseen, or particularly put to them. But there is no Place for presumptions of a thing, against express Declarations to the contrary; or for supposing such exceptions in Laws, that say themselves they do not except any Cases. And this the fore-said Declarations do in this point of Resistance; declaring it *to be unlawful, to take up Arms against the King on any Pretence whatsoever*. Yea being made with a particular Eye against these Pretences, of *Invasion of Laws, Religion &c.* So that they must needs be understood to comprehend, and not to except them, as I noted before.

Besides, Military Resistance of Sovereign Powers stands forbid, by the *Letter*, not only of our Laws, but also of Nature and Scripture; the *Fifth* Commandment, and other Scripture Precepts, calling indispenfibly for Subjection and Obedience, (which bars all such Resistance,) to Sovereign Princes, from all Persons, and at all times. And there is no pleading Equity, to exempt any Cases, from the Generality of their Expressions. For there is no urging Equity, against Natural Duties. In mere Positives, or in things of mere Human Obligation, it may have more Place. But in Matters of intrinsic Goodness, and Natural Obligation, it has none. They are standing Rules, that admit of no exception, and the Plea of Equity must always, and only be for the keeping, but never for the breaking of them. No Man must ever pretend Equity, for leave to commit Murder, or Adultery, or to Steal, or to Rebel, or to Transgress any other Law of Nature. For the main care of Equity, is to make

make these Duties inviolable; and so the Argument to be drawn from thence, is in every Case to Act according to them, but in no Case to Act against them.

The Pretence for Equities exempting some Cases from the Prohibitions of Resistance, is for the *safety of Subjects*, because say \* some, *no Man can owe so much Duty to his Prince, as not to have a Salvo for his Safety especially for his Life.* But what a Man owes, or is oblig'd to by the Law of Nature, not only to his Prince, but to the meanest Fellow-Subject, or to any of Mankind, is without any such Salvo, even for Life, and he may not transgress such Natural Duty towards them, tho it were to save his Life. It not being lawful to Steal, or Murder, or commit Adultery, or Transgress any other Natural Duties against our Neighbours, no not when we are the most put upon it, and tempted thereto to save our selves.

I add, whatever People spurr'd on by a desire of Revenge, may vainly fancy in Favor of their own Passions, that Equity sets more by Submission in all Cases, than by this desired Liberty of Resistance. Its first Precept about this Matter is, whatever the Governor be, to have Government kept up; which is by holding on Submission, that is always cast off by Resisting. And this, not only in Regard to Gods Authority, whereto it calls for Justice and Submission, tho in an evil Prince but also in Care of the Subjects own Good. Which amidst all the hazards Men may think the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to be attended withal, is much more, and much safer, in this Constancy of Submission and Non-Resistance; than it would be in the contrary Liberty of Resisting and running to Arms, on the foresaid Pretences.

Lastly, that Equity doth not exempt from this Non-Resistance is plain, because it is a general Principle, and what exemption it gives would be General: under all Governments, absolute as well as limited, and in all times and Places, one having as much Claim to Natural Equity, as another has. And so, there would have been Exemption thereby under the *Roman* Emperors, fancied (tho without Ground) to have been absolute and arbitrary Governors; and in the Primitive

five Scripture Times, as well as under our Kings, and in this present, or the preceding Age. Whereas, our Blessed Saviour, and his Holy Apostles and the Primitive Saints, plainly admit of no exemption under those Emperors. And the Managers of this Plea own there was none, nor allow any Liberty of Resisting, under any absolute and arbitrary King.

† Id. p. 15.  
22.

|| Id. p. 12.  
23. And  
Inquiry  
into the  
Measures  
of Submission  
to Supreme  
Authority. Art.  
34.

They || appeal likewise, from these *Declarations of our Laws*, to the *Nature of our Constitution*, and the *end of our Frame*: and think, it will justify that Resistance, which these Sayings and Declarations of Law Condemn.

But as to our Constitution, thereby the *Supremacy is fixed solely in the King*; and therein is an *express denial of all Coercive Power over him*; and a Declaration or Maxim, that *he can do no Wrong*, what he doth, being by Ministers, and they only, and not he, being accountable in any Court here for the same. All which, leaving neither Fault imputable to him to deserve it, nor Authority in any others to Try and Judge him for the same, must needs bar all *Forfeitures of the Crown*. The *whole power of the Militia*, or of *Listing Soldiers*, the Law declares to be *only in him*. And loudly asserts the *unlawfulness*, and *Treasonableness*, of all *Levying War against him*. Nay, that even the *Parliament themselves*, as I noted, *have no Power to make any War, either Offensive or Defensive, against him*. And in a Government of this Frame, owning *one irresistible Sovereign*, and thus carefully *excluding all taking Arms against him*, I do not see whence any should hope to fetch this Liberty of Resisting.

And as for the end of that part of our Constitution, which lies in *securing our Liberties and Properties*; that is plainly with limitation, and *so far only, as they can be secured to Subjects continuing Subjects, i. e. in Consistence with Submission*, which is thrown off by Military Resisting. They are to be secured thereby to the Subjects of these Realms, so far as they can be secured, under a Sovereign and irresistible Prince, (as our Constitution makes ours to be,) and by Men keeping to their Duty and Obedience.

## C H A P. VII.

*Of Passive Obedience under Invaders of Natural Rights. And these as Defensible by Arms, as Civil Rights.*

HAVING hitherto shewn, that the Invasion of Civil Rights and Laws, gives no exemption from the Gospel Duties of Obedience and Non-Resistance, which I think I have made pretty plain, both from the Case of Jews, and Gentiles, and from our own Laws themselves: I now proceed to shew, in the

Fourth and last place, that if this defensibleness of Legal Rights, would exempt us; a like Defensibleness of Natural Rights, would as well have exempted all other Subjects of Sovereign Powers. And so, contrary to what the Advocates of Resistance themselves affirm, would have left no such Duty in the World, as *Passive Obedience*. The true Christian, and *Thank-worthy Passiveness*, as † S. Peter observes, † 1 Pet. ii. 19, 20. not being that of Malefactors, who suffer for their real Faults; but of Righteous Persons and Well-Doers, who cannot suffer, but by an Invasion of Rights, or unrighteous usage.

All Oppressors, invade Mens Natural Rights; if they have no Civil Laws, to make them Civil Rights. That Ruler, who has no Civil Laws to guide him, is yet bound to guide himself, by the Law of Nature and Reason. Now Nature, makes Right and Wrong, and appoints Laws for them. Else, by the mere Law of Nature, there could be no such thing, as unrighteousness, or wronging of our Brethren. *Thou shalt not Kill*, and *thou shalt not Steal*, are some of Natures Laws. And all *shedding of innocent Blood*, all *Theft*, *Lies*, and *breach of Faith*, are by Nature violations of Right, and so unrighteous Actions.

Now, Natural Rights, are as Defensible this way, as any Civil Rights are. I do not only say, they are as

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Sacred, and Inviolable : yea, having God, and not man for their Author ; and a Divine Law, not an Human, for their Guard, they must needs be more inviolable. But also, that they are as Defensible by Force, as any Civil Rights. Thus, Princes, and Sovereign States, take Arms against each other, to defend their Natural Rights. And so may Private Persons, (under like moderation of *Christian Charity*, as they are to shew in quarrelling for any other Rights,) when assaulted by Thieves, Murderers, or other unrighteous Attempters, and have no leisure, or opportunity, to call in the Protection of Government, and Guard of Civil Laws: one private Person, having Liberty to fight another in these Cases, in defence of their Lives, Persons, Liberty, and other things, which are Natural Rights. And this is the *Liberty of Self-Defence*: which is a Liberty of defending these Natural, (or other) Rights, by our own Natural Force; when, being out of the Cover of Laws, we are left, as in a State of Nature, to defend our selves.

Indeed, mere Natural Rights, have no Civil Defence, till they are taken in to be Civil Rights. That is, there is no Commencing an Action, and suing for them in any Civil Courts, till they are backed and defended by Civil Laws. But this way of Defending by force of Arms, is a Natural Defence; in which Laws give a Man no help at all, but he is left purely to the strength of his own Natural Powers. And for Natural Rights, a Man may make his Natural Defence, which is no more than the liberty of Self-Defence.

Nay, when Men come to defend their Civil and Legal Rights this way, *viz.* by *running to Arms*, they defend them not as Civil Rights: For what Defence any thing gets, by having a Civil Law for it, and being a Civil Right, is a *Legal Defence*, or *Defence by Legal Process*. It may be pleaded in a Law Court; and whilst Courts have Authority, and Law can be heard in them, that will defend it. But when Men leave contesting these Rights at Law, and fall to Arms, they absolutely throw off this Civil Defence; there being no Cover or Defence from Law, among

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drawn Swords, nor any use in War, of Witness, Judge, and Juries. And, instead of that, they come back to Natural Defence, or by their own Natural strength, which is to defend them as Natural Rights. So that Natural Rights, must needs be as defensible by Arms, I conceive, as Civil Rights: since Civil Rights, as Civil, are not at all defensible by Arms, but by Law Suits; and to defend them this way, Men must bring them out of the State of Civil, which lies in being under Government and in Courts, into the State of Natural Rights. And when, in any Case, the Law justifies this Defence afterwards, it is not as needing a Civil Law, but under the Notion of a Natural Right, or as being the Natural Liberty of Self-Defence.

But now, if Subjects might have recourse to this forcible Defence, and Levy War against their Sovereigns, upon their violation of Natural Laws, and Invasion of Natural Rights, which are as defensible this way, as any Civil Rights: then there is no such thing as *Passive Obedience*, nor ever was any Submission and Non-Resistance due, to ill and unjust Kings. And so in reality, there should have been none due, in those times, when God always required it, both among *Jews* and *Christians*: whose *Passive Obedience* was never tried, but when they suffered unrighteously, by an Invasion of their Natural and Divine however, if not also of their Civil and Human Rights. So that this Plea, of the *Defensibleness of these Rights by Force*, will afford no ease peculiar to us, nor alter the Case of Non-Resistance with us, from what has been so long since determined of it, in the Scriptures, and the Primitive Church. Had it been true, it would have set the suffering Subjects loose in those days. And, as the Inspired Men, and Holy Fathers, taught Non-Resistance, as a Truth then: they would, were they now alive, tell us it is as true now, and bid us do the same in ours.

This forcible defence of Civil Rights then, as well as a like forcible defence of Natural Rights, must be limited to Private Persons. If Men were under no Civil Governors,

they would be left each to defend their own Rights. And when they are under Government, they are still left to it against other Private Persons, in Cases that will not stay for the defence of Laws, or for recourse to Governors. But there is no liberty for Subjects, to defend their Rights thus by joyning in Arms, against their lawful Sovereigns. The Holy Scriptures, and our own Laws, as I have shown, plainly forbidding this way of Defence, when Subjects suffer Invasion of Rights. And the Pleaders for Resistance, allowing they may not take it in defence of Natural and Divine Rights, no not in defence of Religion it self, till it is taken in to stand by Civil Law; and Civil Rights, are not more defensible by force of Arms, than Natural and Divine Rights are.

To the Sovereign Power, the Command of God is, *to be Subject*. Then there is no Resisting, since warlike Resistance throws off Subjection. So, Levying War in Subjects, can be no way of defending Rights against their Sovereign. Nor can they take any ways of Defence, but what are consistent with Subjection. Therefore their Defence of Rights, must only be in those ways, which keep in the Order of Government and Justice. If they are oppressed by a lower Power, they may seek to a higher, and so rise, till in this way they have tried the Sovereign himself, beyond whom, in Subordination of Government, there can be no Appeal, but to God himself. So there is Human help this way, against all Governors, but the Supreme. Yea, some Kings themselves, are but imperfect Sovereigns. They have reserved Cases: and though they are Supreme, in all others; yet in these they have Superiors, to take Cognizance of, and declare their Failures, and discharge their Subjects from bearing them any more Allegiance. And here is Human Redress, and that by force, even against the King: not by breaking and casting off the Order of Government; but by keeping under, and paying subjection to those, whom, in these Cases, the Laws have made Superior unto him. This may seem the Case of *Poland*, where a Clause said to be in the *Coronation Oath*, sounds to this purpose. But,

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But, where a King is the *Sole Supreme*, both over all Persons and in all Causes that can come under Judicial Cognizance: he can only have God above him. And when he Invades the Rights, and stands in it; after we have sought to Courts, and made Supplications, and used all ways for a Subjects Redress: there is no way, but to be content with so much Right, as we can have by continuing under his Government; and for the rest, to leave it to God, (who will be sure to do it first or last,) either to redress, or avenge our Cause. But the way of Subjects, by order of God, who requires them for all this to continue subject, cannot be to resume the liberties of ungoverned Persons, and fall every one to right themselves against him by force of Arms; which is to throw off the state of Subjects, and set up to be their own Governors. Nay, this way of defending Rights, would be the most unwise, and opposite to that securing of Rights they aim at, as well as most offensive to Almighty God. For however, in their<sup>o</sup> heat, and uneasiness under Wrongs, Men are apt to think this a way of recovering, and defending such Invaded Rights: in the end they will find, it is the way to leave, both them and all their other Rights, defenceless, and under no Guard, or Security at all. For Government, is the best safe Guard, of our Liberties and Properties. And if once we go to pull it down, we go at the same time, when we do not think it, to pull down our selves, and to set open our own Freedoms. The Fence being broken down, the Inclosure becomes common, and our Rights lie open to all Intruders.

From this Discourse I shall observe, that as to the Point of *using Forcible Defence*, it seems no great difference, *when Religion is Persecuted*, whether it stand upon its own Right, or be taken into the Law of the Land, and stand on Civil Right. Every Man has a Right, to be truly Religious, and to serve God. He has a Right, to seek Eternal Happiness; and to Truth in Religion, as the way to it. And every Prince Invades this Right; yea, I add, and God's too, who denies



denies him this, and Persecutes him for it. If God has a Right to our Service, we must needs have a Right, nay, be under Duty and Obligation, which I think is more than a Right, to serve him. And this Right, is unalienable; no Prince, or Power on Earth, who are all Authorized to Rule us under God, not to Rule over him, can, or ought to set it aside, or deprive us thereof.

And as no Prince can, so can no Law do it. For whence must that Law have such Authority? Is it from God? No sure, he cannot Authorize any Human Laws, to set aside his own Laws; for that were to give Men Authority over himself. It is only the Power of the Law Maker, that gives the Law its Power. And if the Human Power that made the Law, cannot take away this Right; the Stream cannot rise higher than the Spring, nor the Effect have what the Cause had not, so that the Law made by him cannot do it. If a Law attempts to take away this Right, it is as bad, as if a Prince doth it. As he is an unrighteous Prince, so is it an unrighteous Law; and we do not cease to have this Right for either, but suffer equally an Invasion of an unalienable Right in both.

Now, since Religion, however Persecuted, whether with or without Law, is an unalienable Right: how should its having, or wanting a Civil Law, either give or take away this forceable Defence of it. For its own Natural and Divine Right, is as defensible by Natural Force, as I have shown, as any Civil Right the Law will add to it.

And what is it, that a Civil Law doth, towards this way of its Defence? It makes it, say † they, *a Civil Right and Property: And a Persecuting Law against it, though, as it is wicked, it cannot command our Obedience; yet, as it is a Law, it may dispose of our Civil Rights.* True, a Civil Law, will make or unmake a Civil Right, which gives or takes away a Civil Defence, by Courts and Law Suits. When it has a Civil Right, it will have Redress in Courts, and have Men punished for invading of Civil Liberties. And when it has lost this, by a Law against it; its Professors must not

† Mr. Johnson's Remarks on Doctor Sherlock's Case of Resistance &c. p. 19, 20.

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not come to Sue for in Court, or hope to find any help there.

But what is this *Defence of Courts*, by being a Civil Right, to *Natural Defence*, or *defending it by Force of Arms*? Were the Doctrine of Resistance true, as I have shewn, it need not go to *Civil Right*, to have this Natural Defence: or, if it did, Civil Right would send it back again to Natural Right; Civil Rights, when they come to this way of Defence, throwing aside what they have by being Civil, and coming into the State of Natural Rights. So that whilst it remains a Natural, or Divine Right, it is Defensible by Arms, as if it were a Civil Right. And such a Right, true Religion always is, and however Persecuted, whether with Law, or without, or against it. It holds this Right unalienably under the unrighteous Invasion of Laws, as much as under the illegal Invasion of Rulers. And having the Right as fully, if it were Defensible this way, it might Defend it as lawfully against their Invasions, as against his. And then the Professors of True, but Persecuted Religion, might fight for it against their Persecuting Sovereigns, not only for the Laws, but for the Truths sake; and be as Free to make this Defence for it, when it is driven out by the Law of the Land, as when it has that Law on its side. Which, besides what is said thereto above, I note against those, who make an armed Defence of Religion among us, different from a like Defence in the days of the Apostles and Primitive Persecutions: on account, Religion then had the Laws against it; but now, through the blessing of God, it has the Laws on its side.

What has been offered upon this last Point, is sufficient also, over and above what has been said to that before, against those, who make our case different, from that of the Primitive Saints, either *Jews* or *Christians*: because the *Non-Resistance* they paid, was not, say they, to limited Rulers, as our Kings are, being bound up by Laws; but to *Absolute Governors*. For, though some are more *Absolute*, i. e. more left to Discretion, and have fewer Human Laws to direct them, than others: yet, were no Governors ever perfectly so. There were, both Laws, and Popular Freedoms

\* Deut.  
xvii. 18, 19

doms and Immunities, under the *Roman Emperors*, as I have shew'd. And *Laws not to be alter'd*, under the *Medes and Persians*. And a body of Laws, (which God \* commanded them to keep always by them, to be well studied and vers'd therein) to rule the Administration of the *Israelitish* and *Jewish* Kings. And where Monarchs were left

† Nobis Romulus ut libitum  
imperitaverat. Tacit. Ann. l. 3.  
p. 152.

‖ Populus nullis Legibus te-  
nebatur: arbitria Principum  
pro Legibus erant. Just. lib. 1.  
cap. 1.

‡ Hoc Priami Gestamen e-  
rat, cum jura Vocatis more da-  
bat Populus. Æneid. 7.

— Gaudet regno Trojanus  
Acestes, indicitque forum, &  
Patribus dat jura vocatis. Æn.  
lib. 5.

most to themselves, † *Governing ut libitum*, as *Tacitus* says of *Romulus*; when ‖ *arbitria Principum pro Legibus erant*, as *Justin* testifies of the *first Ages*; and they did ‡ *jura Dare*, as *Virgil* says of *Priamus* and the *ancient Kings*: i. e. when they ruled and judged their Subjects mostly, not by any written Laws, but by their own Reason and Equity: yet even then, were the Laws of God and Nature, always to be a Rule to them in their Administrations.

Besides, all the Power of People, and the Liberty of resuming their primitive natural Rights, and standing up to right themselves when wrong'd by their Governors: is grounded, by the Advocates for Resistance, on the *Original Contract*, whereby, in the first Framing and Constitution of every Government, when the People, as they say, parted each with their native Liberty, and set Governors over them, they every where made these Reserves for themselves. This *Original Contract*, is the last Ground, when things are run up to the top, of all Peoples rising in Arms against unjust Powers; thus reassuming the Authority they had formerly intrusted, when they see it misemployed, and deposing those Kings who had abused their Trust.

Now this *Original Contract*, particularly as to our own Nation, will not be pretended, I believe, to be any where extant upon publick Record. And the rather, for that in *Magna Charta* it self, the grand Record of our Liberties; those Liberties are not fetch'd from the *Peoples own Reserves*, as if originally we came by them that way: but from

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from the Kings Grants and Donations. \* Of our free and <sup>\* Præm.</sup> mere Will, we have given and granted to our Bishops, &c. <sup>Magn.</sup> and to all Free Men of our Realm, these Liberties following. <sup>Chart.</sup>

— † to have and to hold, to them and their Heirs, of us, † c. 1. and our Heirs for ever, says the Charter. And much less, I think, are we to expect any Records of such Reserves, under the first and most ancient Governments. For under them, the People were so far from making, or recording, any such fancied Reserves of Rights and Privileges: that they had not any Record of Laws but what were in their Princes Breasts, not so much as stipulating for any Rules whereby they would be govern'd, but trusting and submitting themselves, to the Justice and Discretion of their Rulers, as I have noted of the first Kings.

But this Contract, is fetch'd from the common Reason and Nature of things: there being no other way possible, as these Men say, whereby *Civil Government should take Rise*. Now the Nature of things, is one and the same, to all Times and Places. And common Reason, must be as common to East as West: to the Persians and Romans under those more absolute Powers; as to the Goths, or Germans, or other Northern Nations, who have provided better for popular Liberties. And therefore, if common Reason and the Nature of things, will carry such an Original Contract, the ground of Resistance, for us; it would have done as much for them. And if it was not sufficient, to authorize Resistance in their Case, as these men themselves affirm, asserting them to have been under a tie of Conscience to Passive Obedience: it cannot suffice any more to do it in ours. Common Reason, and Nature of Government, gives equal provision to all, and as much Original Contract to the Subjects of absolute Emperors, as to those of legal Monarchs: who, whatever Liberties and Provisions they have more, have them not from common Reason, but the special limitations of their own Laws. So that on this account, we must not take more liberty to our selves, or make our Case, in point of Resistance, different from theirs.



## C H A P. VIII.

*No Resistance, on Pretence that acts against Law  
are inauthoritative.*

\* Julian  
Ap. p. 84.  
Thoughts  
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York, p.  
11. 14. 16.

**B**UT when our Rulers invade us against Right, say \* some, What Authority is there in their Invasions? Has any Man Authority to invade our Rights? And if our Governors have no Authority for their Invasion: since we are to be subject only to Authority, is there any Obligation on us for Submission? And may we not make Resistance, against *unauthoritative Acts*? A Liberty for Resistance, needs not *Superiority*, but *Parity*; for we may defend our selves against our Equals. And when Kings act illegally, and invade Rights: in those Acts, say some, they have no Authority, and Acts done against Law, which are the Rule of the Polity, are *politically powerless*. So that we may resist them in such Case, as we may our Equals; they acting there *without Authority*, which is the same, as *private Persons*.

No, say I, under those illegal Actings, they are still Kings and Sovereigns. Tho there be no Authority derived into the Action, which, if it be against the Laws of God and the Land, is condemn'd and vacated, not authorized and enforced by either of them: yet the Authority abides still in the Person. And as to the dueness of Non-resistance in such illegal Actings, the Question is not, whether the illegal Act has any Authority; but whether the Sovereign that acts so, retains his Authority. For Passive Obedience, is due to the Person in Authority: and whatever liberty we might otherwise take, to oppose such an Action; we must keep passive, under such a Person. If, for all his illegal Act, he is still thy *Father*; the *fifth* Commandment says, *Honor and obey him*. If he retains his Authority over us, and continues to be the *ἡγεμονία* or *Higher*

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**Higher Power**; S. Paul tells us, that in Conscience towards God, we must needs be subject to him. And whilst we are to be subject, we must not resist: for when once we fall to warlike Resisting, there is an end of Subjection. So that it is not enough to say, the Illegality doth disauthorize the Action, or hinder it from being binding; unless it also disauthorize the Person, and make a Forfeiture of his Authority over us. For whilst his Authority lasts, we are bound to continue his Subjects; and that tyes us to be passive in such Cases.

Now, a King may keep his Authority, for all he doth some inauthoritative, and illegal Actions. He doth not lose Power, by abusing his Power, or stretching to make it more: nor make away that real Authority which he has, by going beyond it in an unauthoritative Act, or pretending to some Authority which he has not.

What Authority have any Sovereign Powers, to make Laws against the true Religion? If their Authority is from God, I am sure he has given them no Commission, to forbid what he has commanded. They go quite against the Rule of Legislation, when they employ it in making Laws against him. And those Laws, carry no binding Force from God along with them, to oblige Subjects to their Observance. So that if by inauthoritative Acts, be meant *Acts against the Rule of Administration*; or without any real Right, to warrant the King himself in commanding, and to oblige others to obey them: all Laws are inauthoritative Acts, which are made against the true Religion. But yet, they that urge this Objection, will not say, that any Kings forfeit their Crowns, or ease their Subjects of the Duty of Passive Obedience, by making persecuting Laws. Nay, † they say there is a necessity of not resisting, but being passive under them, because they have such Laws whereby to persecute them.

† Julian  
the Ap. p.  
74.75.92.  
& others.

What is the real and intrinsick Authority, or Legality, of a Sentence grossly unjust, and apparently contrary to Law? I mean not only contrary to *Legal Forms*, as a

*Judgment* would be without a *Jury* : but contrary to those particular Laws in any Case, which the Judge, proceeding in Form, ought to pronounce by. A Man comes to a Judge and Jury, to have Law, or the benefit of those particular Laws, which he grounds his Claim upon. And the Judge, is to pass Sentence according to these Laws, and to give what the Laws give him. And, I suppose, those Laws do not authorize this Sentence, if it grossly and corruptly perverts, what they say. In this Case, if they authorize what the Judge says, I think they must no longer authorize what they say themselves, since his Saying is directly contrary to theirs. And accordingly, instead of authorizing, they will reverse it, so soon as they fall into the hands of a more upright Judge and Jury, that will find and pronounce aright. So that here is a Sentence against the Laws, that should have ruled it: which, not having the Laws concern'd therein, to authorize and bear it out, if Authority must come from Law, I think will be an inauthoritative Act. But I imagine these Objectors do not believe, he ceases thereupon immediately to be a Judge, which would vacate all the Sentences he passes afterwards. Or, that the aggrieved Parties have Remedy any other way, than by legal Appeals. Wherein, if they can find no Redress at last from the Supreme Power it self, yet are they not thereby set loose from being any longer his Subjects, nor have any Discharge, as I think is confess'd on all hands, from their Passive Obedience.

How many illegal, and unauthoritative Acts, were done by *Saul*, and *Abab*, *Abaz*, and *Manasse*, and other ill Kings among the *Jews* ; which yet did not unking them? And by the *Roman* Emperors, as I have shown, which yet did not disrobe them of their Purple, or free the poor oppressed Christians, and other Subjects of the Empire, from being subject to, and passive under them? Among these, are instances enow, as may appear from what is said above, of illegal Acts, against the Authority of all Laws,

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both of God, and of their own Realms. And yet of the Sovereigns, who were the illegal Actors, still retaining their Sovereign Authority, and holding the Sufferers in their former State of Subjects, and under an obligation of Conscience to Passive Obedience. And this is a clear proof, that God, tho he has given Rules to higher Powers, which are Duties of Governors, and according to which, at the great Day, he will judge them himself: Yet, has not made these Rules of exercising Power, Conditions of their holding Power, or Grounds of Forfeiture. He himself, under the most enormous Breaches of these Rules, having plainly declared, by the inspired Pen-men, of those Princes that broke them, that they were still in Authority, and that their Subjects, as they would answer the contrary to him, were to keep in their Obedience and Duty to them notwithstanding. So that wheresoever any Forfeiture of Crowns comes in, it must be, by some special provisions in a Peoples own Laws. And where Law makes a Forfeiture, it will make a Prince forfeit in a legal way, by appointing some superior Power to try the Fact, and judicially to declare the Forfeiture. But I do not conceive, how there can be any legal way of forfeiting, where the Prince is declared by Law, to be the *Sole Supreme*.

Now, if unauthoritative Acts do not disauthorize the person, and make him sink into a private Man; but for all them, a King continues still to be a King: where is the Argument for Resistance from such inauthoritative Acts? Yes, || say they, when unjust Acts have no Authority in virtue of Self-defence, *we may resist, and defend our selves against them.* True, where there is no other hindrance to resisting, and defending our selves by Arms, but what is to be looked for in the Action. But Resistance, and warlike Defence, tho it be for an Action, must be of some Person. And what if there is something, to bar such Resistance, in the Person? As I think the Law appoints in the Persons of *Father and Mother*, when it declares, *he shall surely*

|| *Thoughts of a Priv. Pers. &c. p. 11.*



surely be put to death, that smiteth them. Exod. xxi. 15. And in the Persons of Higher Powers, when it calls us to honor, to keep subject, and not to resist them. So there is something in his person, to keep out all Resistance, and arming against our Sovereign. The Argument for not resisting, or making a warlike Defence against him, is because he is King. And then, what takes off this, and can be an Argument for Resistance, must be something that doth unking him. And since such unauthoritative Acts, are no Forfeitures of Crowns; 'tis plain, whatever other Immunities they are a ground of, they are no ground of levying War, or armed Resistance.

This, I take to be a very good, and sufficient Ground, and I think it is the true Ground, of Submission and Passive Obedience, under illegal Violence and Persecutions. The illegal Act, I conceive, has nothing in it self to bar Self-defence; having no Authority to bear out and enforce it, as may seem, either from God or Man. Not from God; for if his Law carries his Authority, (and where doth he display his Authority, if not in his Laws?) what is against his Law, is against his Authority. Nor from Man, for the same Reason, of its being against humane Laws, which carry their Authority. But the Authority of the Person, is a Bar to this way of Defence against our Sovereign. And when the Sovereign will do such illegal Acts, tho he has no Authority to justify himself therein, nor to make his unrighteous or illegal Commands, really obligatory and binding: yet, because he is a Person, under whose Authority and Obedience we all are, this will be the effect of them. Seeing Subjects under Government, can have no Remedy, but what keeps the order of Government, and must be content with so much, as keeping to that Order allows: till God alter his mind, we can have no present Redress. And being his Subjects, we cannot go to arm against him, to defend or right our selves. And this is *Passive Obedience*. So that when the irreligion or illegality of the Command, exempts us from any Obligation,

on, to active Performance: this Authority of his Person, doth notwithstanding lay on us an Obligation, of keeping under his Obedience, and making no warlike Resistance.

And on these Grounds it will be easie to give a rational, and plain Answer to those Questions, which the Disputers for Resistance shall think most posing, about the Authority of Kings, when they act against Laws.

If it be asked, What is a Kings Authority, when he doth such illegal Acts? 'Tis just the same it was before he did them; for as he doth not get, so he doth not lose any rightful, and real Authority thereby.

But what doth his Authority give, to the illegal Act, or Order? Doth it authorize the Subjects in an illegal thing? or make the Law, which forbids it, cease to be a Rule to them? No, the Laws of God and Men, are to be the Rules of conscionable acting. The Authority of the Law, is the Authority of a Rule. And for a Rule, it is the best Authority. And an humane Law, is the best Humane Authority. And where Kings, neither make, nor unmake and repeal Laws, alone; the King commanding in the Laws, is of more Authority to rule the Subjects Actings, than the King commanding against them.

And what doth his Authority give him, as to that particular illegal Act? Not to be questionable, or accountable for it among Men, or coercible by Force and armed Opposition. And that, because for all that act, he is still our King, and we owe him Subjection. Receiving such illegal Acts from our King, we must receive them as Subjects. And the obligation of continuing Subjects, excludes all Liberty of armed Resistance.

Whence, say they, in an illegal Act, has a Sovereign Prince this Authority? From the *Fifth* Commandment, and from all those Commandments, that require Submission, and Obedience, and being subject unto Princes. For the plain intent of all those Precepts, as may sufficiently appear, I think, from what I have said on this Argument;

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is to require these, to Princes that break, as well as to those that keep Laws; to unjust, as well as to righteous Sovereigns. And if God commands us to submit, and keep in Subjection to a Sovereign Prince, that acts against Laws; he must forbid us to resist such: for men put off Subjection, when they fall to Resisting.

It may be asked still, has he it from the Law of the Land? Yes. What, from the Law he invades? Doth the Law give him Authority to break it self? No, but by all those Laws, that declare he incurs no Forfeiture by such Invasions. For all those Laws, that own and declare such Invader to be still our King, determine our Subjection to him, and forbid us to resist him. For Men are no longer in the state and posture of Subjects, when they come to arm against their Sovereigns.

If a Man suffers illegally, they will demand by what Law? By none surely, for then there is an end of the Illegality. But to ask for a Law for his suffering, is to ask for something to justify, or make it just in the eye of Law, that he should suffer. But this is not pretended from the Kings Authority; and it is supposed to be an unjust, and illegal Suffering. But if the King has no Authority, to justify the illegal Suffering; has he any Authority, to bar the illegal Sufferers resisting? Yes, the Regal Authority not being lost by that illegal Act, but still abiding in him. For all he makes a Man suffer against Law, he is still his King. And that is a Reason against Resisting. For by all Law, both of God and Man, we must be subject to our King. And he ceases to be subject, that draws his Sword against him.

## C H A P. IX.

*The Reasons of Non-resistance. And how it makes not Arbitrary Government.*

I Shall only add now, in the last place, concerning this Non-resistance, or not arming against invading Princes, required of, and practised by the first and best Christians, what Regards they were guided by, and what Reasons they looked at, for this Observance.

1. The first and chiefest, was in Reverence to God's Ordinance, insomuch as those Rulers, were Gods Anointed, his Ministers, or his Vicegerents. How can I stretch forth my hand against Saul, says David, and be guiltless, seeing he is the Lords anointed. 1 Sam. xxvi. 9. and c. xxiv. 6. And he that resists, shall receive Damnation, saith S. Paul, as resisting the Ordinance of God, Rom. xiii. 2. And he is the Minister of God, wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake, v. 4, 5. And like to these, are the Sayings of the Primitive Fathers, for Submission to the persecuting Emperors. Tertullian grounds the Duty of Allegiance we owe the Emperor, on this, that he is deputed by God, \* and has his Power from the same, \* Apol. from whom he has his Spirit: that he is one, † quem Deus elegit, — qui à nostro Deo constitutus, i. e. whom God has appointed: || à Dominus Dei vice, Gods Vicegerent, or a Lord over us in Gods place and stead: whom ‡ knowing à Deo constituit, to be Gods Ordinance, every Christian ought of necessity to love, reverence, and wish safe. This made the Sacredness, and Authority of the Emperor, in their eyes, because, as Athenagoras \* tells Marcus and his Son Commodus, ἀνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφόροι, their Empire they had received from God. The same, which Dionysius of Alexandria † said afterwards of Valerianus and Gallienus, to Hemi- lian the Prefect. And because, as Theophilus says in his

\* Apol.  
c. 30.  
† ib. c. 33.

ib. c. 34.

† ad Scap.

c. 2.

\* Legat.

pro Christ.

p. 17.

† ap. Euf.

Hist. Eccl.

l. 7. c. 11.



¶ Ad Autolyc. l. i.  
p. 76.

Book to *Autolycus* under the Emperor *Commodus*, tho the Emperor *||* is not God, yet he is ἀνθρώπος καὶ θεῶ παραμυθηθεὶς το διχῶς κείναι, a Man ordained of God, and under him, to do Judgment and Justice. And this also is the ground of Subjects Duty and Allegiance, in the Doctrine of our Church. All Subjects do owe of bounden Duty, Obedience, Submission, and Subjection, to the Higher Powers, for as much as they be Gods Lieutenants, Gods Presidents, Gods Officers, &c. says the Homily of Obedience Part 1. And again, all Subjects are bound to obey them, yea though they be evil, and that for Conscience sake, as Gods Ministers. — Though they be wicked, and abuse their Power : yet therefore it is not lawful for their Subjects to withstand them, because, even wicked Rulers, have their Power and Authority from God. Homily of Obedience Part 2.

† Lam. iv.  
20.

¶ De Civit.  
Dei, lib. 5.  
c. 21.

†Part 3.

Now, all these are Reasons, not to Resist the worst, as well as the best Kings: the infringers of Rights, as well as the maintainers of them. For all Men rightfully invested with Power, are Gods Ministers, his Anointed, and his Ordinance, however they employ their Power. The bad are, as well as the good; at their worst, as well as at their best times. Saul is the Lords Anointed, as well as David; † Zedekiah, as well as Josiah; Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, or other Bloody Persecuting Emperors, as well as the most just and godly Kings. \* The same that gave the Power, || says S. Austin, to Marius, gave it also to C. Caesar; he that conferred it on Augustus, gave it also to Nero; he that bestowed it on the Vespasians, Father and Son, those most obliging Emperors, bestowed it also on Domitian so infamous for his Cruelties. And not to particularize any further, be that set up Constantine the Christian Emperor, set up Julian too who Apostatized from Christ. In reading the Holy Scriptures, says our Church, † in the Homily against willful Rebellion, we shall find in very many and almost infinite Places, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, that Kings and Princes, as well the evil as the good, do Reign by Gods Ordinance, &c. They have their Power and Authority from God.

God, says the *Homily of Obedience*, and are to be obeyed *Part 2.*  
as Gods Ministers, although they be evil — although they abuse their Power — although they be wicked and wrong doers — and it is not lawful for Inferiors and Subjects, in any Case to resist and withstand them.

Whatever the rightful Sovereign be then, that bears hard upon any Man; let me ask him who is most uneasy, if, for all his Personal unworthiness, and oppressive Administration, he be not still *the Lords anointed*, and *the Ordinance of God*. And so long, if he will be a Follower of the Holy Scriptures, the Primitive Fathers, or our own Church, whose Testimonies have been alledged, how can he lift up his hand against him.

2. A second Ground of their Non-Resistance, was in *Patience and Submission to Gods Providence*. In such hard Cases, they were like to ease their Suffering by Patience, and make it worse by Resistance. In your Patience, says our Saviour, *possess ye your Souls*. Luke xxi. 19. When the Cross was brought upon them, they were called to take it up, not to drive it away; to follow Christ in bearing it themselves, not to follow the World in endeavouring to Force it upon others: according to those Precepts of our Lord, for *taking up*, and *bearing his Cross*. These Persecutions they looked on, as sent by God for tryal of their Patience, not of their fighting Valor in making Resistance; and were careful under them, to shew invincible Stoutness in Sufferings; not refuse to Suffer, and rather fight in their own Defence. *The Cup, which my Father hath given me, shall I not Drink it?* Therefore put up thy Sword, said Christ. Joh. xviii. 11. *Lo here is the Patience of the Saints*, says S. John, noting what in their Persecutions they sought to Signalize. Rev. xiv. 12. And, *Absit ut Divina Secta doceat pati, in quo probatur: God forbid this Divine Sect should be against Suffering, which is only Gods way of Tryal and Probation*, † says Tertullian, of their patient and un-† Apol. resisting Sufferings, when they had strength enough to defend themselves. c. 37.

3. In faith in God, and trust that he, as Rightful Judge, would sooner or later, as he saw best, Right their Cause. Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith God; and they were con-

† *Co fidimus majestati ejus, qui tam contemptum sui, quam servorum injurias, possit alacis- ci. — Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, Deo permitimus ultionem. Lact. l. 5. c. 20.*

|| *Laſos u'tio Divina Defendit. Inde est quod nemo nostrum reſtatatur, etſi nimis & copioſus ſit noſter Populus. Cyprian ad Demet. p. 192. Ed. Ox.*

tent to leave it to him. † *We confide in him, who is able to take Vengeance, both for his own, and his Servants injuries. — When we suffer ſuch unſpeakable things, we leave it to God to Right us, ſays Lactantius. || Against all your injuries, the Judgment and Vengeance of God is our Defence. And upon that account it is, that none of us makes any Resistance, though we have Numbers more than enough, ſays S. Cyprian. And loe, here*

*is the Faith, and Patience of the Saints, ſaid S. John. Rev. xiii. 10. They committed their Rights to him, when deſpoiled of them by unjuſt Force, and never went about to make Parties and Tumults, by Force to Right themſelves; to ſhew the Faith they had in his Juſtice, his Providence, and Promiſe; and how far, and freely, even in theſe deareſt and moſt concerning Interests, they durſt truſt him.*

Now both theſe alſo, are Reasons equally not to Reſiſt, under any rightful Sovereigns. The Croſs is the ſame, under one, as under others. The ſame Tryal of Patience, and of Faith, when they fall under the ſame diſtreſſes: whether by Chriſtian or Heathen, Sober or Diſſolute, by Princes that Invade, or that obſerve Civil Laws and Legal Properties.

Now, to all this, that has been ſaid on this Subject, it would be a very weak and unjuſt exception, to ſay, *this forbidding of Reſiſtance on violation of Laws, is ſetting up for illegal and arbitrary Government.* For to Govern Arbitrarily, is to Rule by Diſcretion, or to have no written Laws to Govern by. And where there are Stated Laws, to regulate and direct Adminiſtrations; there is all the Human care that can be, to prevent Arbitrarineſs in Sovereigns.

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There are but two ways, to limit and lay Restraints, or keep any Governor within compass. One is, *Laws*; which restrain him as a *Rule*, by fixing and prescribing for him, his just Bounds. The other, is a *Superior Power*, that can call him to account when he Deviates, and forceably compel him to return into a Right Course; and these restrain him as his *Rulers*. Now, as for this later way, of appointing Higher Powers, for their Supervisors and Correctors: it is visible this can be no way of restraining Sovereigns; who can be no longer Sovereigns, but Subjects, if they have any Superiors. He that is by Law declared the *Supreme*, especiall *the only Supreme* in any Realm, must needs be above all, and no Man can be above him. Though the Laws of his Realm, are to be his Rule; yet no Man in his Realm can be his Ruler, nor they, who all profess themselves made subject to, pretend to set upon him.

Besides, if such Correctors were appointed, to secure the Laws: yet would that be only a Dream of Security, which would vanish, as Experience made us awake and come to our selves, and not secure them really, more than they are secured already. For these Correctors, being subject to like Over-sights, Passions, and Misgovernments, are as liable to Prevaricate and Violate the Laws, as those whom they are set to Supervise. The Laws are safe enough, in the Hands of good Kings; and as unsafe, in the Hands of ill Correctors, as of ill Kings; and such Correctors, are every whit as liable, and like as oft to be ill, and abuse the Laws, as Kings themselves. And what redress for the Invasions and breach of Laws, when they do amiss? So that this doth not Cure, but only shift the Disease, which is uncureable under any Sovereign or last Judge, be it King or Parliament, Army or Mobile, through the Nature of this World; and the inseparable uncertainties of Human Affairs.

As in the Line of Human Subordinations then, some must be Sovereigns; and these must be Men, subject to be drawn aside like our selves: so can these have no Restraint,  
but



but Laws; nor any Judge but God, and so be unaccountable here on Earth. The only possible restraint of Arbitrariness in them, is Laws. And the best restraint these can lay, is, if Acts of State and Justice, are to be sped, not only by the Sovereign himself in Person, but by his *Ministers*. And if, though the Sovereign himself is not, yet his Ministers are accountable, and tryable for Breach of Laws, as well as others. Which, I think, is as much security under a Sovereign, as Sovereignty allows. And this Human Security, we have in this Realm, to Guard our Laws: although we may not resist our Sovereign, and fight for those Laws against him by force of Arms; which is a throwing off his Sovereignty over us, and setting up for our Selves.

But though this Doctrine of Non-Resistance, yea, even *in Defence of Laws*, doth not make *Arbitrary Power*: yet, on the other Hand I would have it considered, whether the *Liberty of Resistance*, is not like to bring in *Arbitrary Subjection*. They may cast off Obedience, say some, for *Publick Good*, i. e. when they see it Expedient, for they must judge of it. Is not this to set Subjects loose, when they see Cause. And if they are *Arbitrary Governors*, who in Ruling are left to Discretion: are not they also, as Arbitrary Subjects, who in Obeying are left to Discretion? Now, to Cure Arbitrary Power, by Arbitrary Obedience; is to Cure Tyrannical Government, by no Government, which is as bad, nay, abundantly worse. The very worst of Tyrants, are *the Ministers of God for good*, in comparison of no Government. One Tyrant's Lust, cannot Risse all Virgins; nor his Avarice, devour all Estates; nor his Revenge, reach all Persons; nor his Cruelty, cut off the Common Wealth. But under no Government, the Rabble will Govern all. And that will be branched out into many thousand Tyrants, who Persecute without Pity, as well as Justice; and pull down and spoil, without any Relentings; and have no Generosity to spare, or greatness of Soul to neglect or leave any thing; but think the meanest Plunder

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a desirable Prey, and sweep all before them. *A Poor Man, that oppresseth the Poor, is like a sweeping Rain, says Solomon. Prov. xxviii. 3.* And I think the Experience we have had of late, in these three Realms, of the Rabble Ruling is enough to convince all Considerate Men, that a few months of their Expedition, is much more full of illegal Violence, Injustice, and Inhumanity, and a great deal more formidable, than a Tyrants whole Reign.

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*F I N I S.*

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O F  
**Christian Communion,**

To be kept on

In the Unity of *Christs Church*, and among  
the *Professors of Truth and Holiness.*

A N D

Of the Obligations, both of *Faithful Pa-  
stors*, to Administer Orthodox and Holy  
Offices; and of Faithful People, to  
Communicate in the same.

Fitted for Persecuted, or Divided, or cor-  
rupt *States of Churches*; when they are  
either born down by Secular Persecu-  
tions, or broken with *Schisms*, or Defi-  
led with *Sinful Offices and Ministrations.*

[By John Kettlewell]

In three parts.

Printed Anno Dom. 1693.

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# THE PREFACE.

Reader,

**T**IS a sad thing, when any Kingdoms are divided about the Payment of their *Allegiance* and *Civil Duties*, which must needs bereave vast Numbers of the Innocence, and more of the Comforts and Quietness of Humane Life. But it is still worse, when this grows into a Division of Churches, and Breach of Religious Communions. For, besides that Religion is the chief of all things which can concern us, and whereon we must Build all our Hopes of Good in another Life: Religious Exercises and Assemblies, should be the properest Cordial to Revive our Spirits, and the best and surest Refuge for us to flee unto, in the greatest civil Distractions. But such Division of Churches and Communions, unsettles and distracts the Hearts of Good and Pious People about this; and makes them at a Loss, where to serve God, and say their Prayers. And this must put all, who pretend to seriousness, or a Religious Spirit, on shewing Compassion; and some, on endeavouring Relief, and on reaching out such things, as may direct and be of use to them, in a Safe and Conscionable Guidance of their Steps, at such times.

And this is the Design of this Treatise. Wherein my Business is not at all to Dispute the particular Titles to any Crowns, or to examine the Claims of the several Pretenders to them. In that, I leave every Honest Mind to other ways of Informing and Satisfying themselves, and of forming such Judgments thereof, as Truth and Justice shall happen to require in their particular Case. But when by those Ways, they are come to be resolved therein, I endeavour to shew them what things lie most upon Conscience, either their Pastors, or their own, as to Church Ministrations; and what way they are to take about Religious Offices and Communion, on such unhappy Divisions.

These Matters I Treat of, not as they are State Points, like one who seeks only to be a Stickler in Civil Differences; or to help those, who, on such Breaches, Study only to make a Bustle in State Parties. But as they are Matters of Religion, and concern all, who would keep in the Favour of God, and in the right Way to Heaven. For my Design and Study all along, is to shew how they, who desire nothing more than to save their immortal Souls, may keep free from Guilt and Eternal Danger in these particulars: My great Care for them, and for my self in these Matters, being how we may truly and acceptably Serve God, more than any Temporal Interest, or the Cause of any Persons, or Parties in this World. And this I offer to the Conscientious, who prefer Religion be-

## The Preface.

fore Worldly Ends, and Eternity before this Life: And who in these Differences, are Willing and Desirous to take the sure Way to Future Peace, and Everlasting Bliss, however the same may expose them here, to Worldly Difficulties, Uncomfortableness, and Persecutions.

As for the Ways and Practices here spoken off, I have given warning of their Guilt and Danger with plainness. And this is necessary in good Christians, especially in Ministers, who are † *not to call Evil Good* or to give soft Names to ill things, and to palliate Unrighteousness instead of exposing and exploding it: which were to take part with Wickedness, and to † *few Pillows* for the Bolstring up of Sinners.

† *If. 5. 20.*  
† *Ezek. 13. 18, 20.*

I am sensible what need there is of Charity and Candor at all times, especially on the Bursting out of Differences. And how indispensable Christian Duties these are, not only in Men at Ease, but in Confessors and Sufferers for Righteousness towards their Persecutors. *If I keep not Charity, though I give my Body to be Burned, and Suffer Martyrdom, it profiteth me nothing,* 1 Cor. 13. 13. And when we see Men in apparently Wicked and Ungodly Ways, or Unrighteous Things done; 'tis the part of this Charity and Candor, to shew Favour and easiness in Judging of the Dispositions of Mind wherewith they do them. Ascribing them, so far as it can find any reasonable Colour or Pretence thereof, to the most excusable Principles. As to their being Mislead by the plausible Arguings of Deceivers, or to an Error of their Judgments; rather than to their acting all the while against their own Belief and Conversions: And to their being over-awed by Fear of Princes, or of Popular Violence; or being forced by Worldly Wants, and Necessities; rather than to their doing the same willingly and of themselves, or out of Malice. As our Blessed Lord whilst he hung upon the Cross, most Candidly imputes the Wickedness of his Crucifiers, to their Ignorance: *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do,* Luke 23. 34. It is also the Part thereof, freely to encourage, and Friendly to desire, and endeavour their Return; rejoicing to have them see their Folly, rather than to see them suffer for it: And without Upbraiding them with the Remembrance of former Errors, Amicably to Welcome, and carry on the Change, when, through the Blessing and Grace of God, they are wrought upon by whatever Methods of Providence, and begin to come to themselves.

But whilst it is so Favourable, in judging of the inward Dispositions of the Persons; 'tis no Part of this Charity and Candor, either to think or to speak Favourably, of the Ungodly or Unrighteous things themselves which are set up, or driven on at such Times. The unlawful Practice themselves, it censures with Justice, being a Charity, that is Pure and Pious, and that is careful for God, and for the Duties of an Holy Religion in the First Place. Out of Love to God and Religion, it cannot Favour Vices, or foster and take part with any Sin. Yea, and out of Love to Men it cannot speak softly of destructive Courses, or represent any ungodly

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## The Preface.

Ways or Things, as less Dishonourable and Offensive to God, or as less Dangerous to Souls, than in the End they will find them. So that, they are mightily Mistaken, who think it any Part of true Christian Charity and Candor, to befriend ungodly Practices, or to mince and soften unlawful and unrighteous Things; which were to conspire with Sin and Wickedness against God and Religion, and to betray the Souls of Men, instead of befriending them.

I am also sincerely and conscientiously studious of Peace: and to keep Men unproveable in that, is one intent, though not the only one, of these Papers. And before open Breaches are made, the Love of Peace will spend it self in endeavours to prevent them. But if they are made already, as they are to a great Hight, when the Espoulers of ill things have proceeded to set up *Anti-Bishops*, which divide Church Societies; till by pouring in Oil they can be Cured and Closed again, one chief Business left then for the Love of Peace and Union, is to see that Peace and Unity be kept with the Right Side. And this I have here endeavour'd to assist the Children of Peace in, the best I can. For it would be a fatal Mistake indeed, to have the very Love and Desire of Peace abused to the Maintenance of Dividers, and to see well-meaning Men, whilst at such Times they are designedly Labouring to avoid *Schisms*, to run Headlong into them. As they must do, if they mistake their Side, wherewith this Peace and Unity is to be kept; and, instead of the true Body, take part with the Seditious, and joyn themselves to those Members who are broken off, on such Divisions.

Besides, the Peace and Union, which we are to seek in this World, must be such as may give us Peace at the last. It is not being at Peace in such Ways, as will fill our Souls in the End with Eternal Horrors. And therefore it is not to be sought by our Violation of any Parts of Righteousness, nor by our consenting or giving way to the Suppression thereof, or letting fall our Zeal for the same. So that we must not seek to compass it, by Neutrality and Luke-warmness for Gods Holy Commandments. And much less by Treachery, in giving up them, and the Souls of Men, whose Eternal Weal depends upon the Observance thereof, as the Purchase of external Unity with any Society. When Worldly Peace can no longer be kept together with Righteousness, it is no Peace for Christians; or for Men, who would prefer the Peace of God, and of their own Conscience, before any false & forced Shows of Peace & Unity with any other Persons.

And these Endeavours, to direct Men, whose Care is to keep Peace and Unity with any Societies, how they may keep them with the Right Side, when they are broken into Parties; and in such things, and by such Compliances, as will not intercept their Future Comforts: Methinks, should be acceptable to all sincere Lovers thereof, who would be directed how they may wisely pursue what they love, and not miss of their own Desires, and would fix at last on such a Peace and Union, as will not Deceive them, or End in Ruine.

In



## The Preface.

In treating of these Matters, I endeavour to clear and confirm what I offer thereupon, by the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures, and from the Reason and Nature of the things Discourfed of. And moreover, from the Doctrine, and Practice of the Primitive Church: Shewing what the Holy Apostles, and their Successors of the first and best Ages, would have said to Men, in the Cases and Breaches here proposed; and how, as I conceive, they would have determined their own Practice, had they been tryed therewith, and placed in such Circumstances. This I shew from their own Rules, which they gave out to others, and acted by themselves, in their own Circumstances. And it would be a strange, and very Criminal Innovation, for any now in our Days to sleight their Ways. For we all know, that our Holy Religion doth not begin with us, and that we are not the First Christians, but only their Successors, and that too at a great Distance. We all profess to be their Followers, and should think we have best provided for our own Safety, when we have taken the Way to be found in their Company.

In confirming any Points from their Doctrine, or Practice, I have given their own Words in the Margin, that the Learned Reader, having the very Words and Passages I Build upon before him, may be the better Enabled, and with more Ease to himself, to judge of the use which I make of them, and of the Inferences which I draw from them. But in the Body of the Book, I have only given the Translation, or put the Sence or Purport of the same, that the unlearned Reader may not be discouraged or hindred by the Intermixtures of an unknown Tongue, but peruse the whole without Interruption.

Thro' the whole, I am sincerely Careful, so far as I am able, to satisfy Conscientious and truly Religious Minds, what Way they are to take for Sacred Offices and Church Communion, on such unhappy Divisions. And seeking their Satisfaction in these Matters, I have offer'd the best I can to Resolve those Points, which I thought they were most like to be unsatisfied in; and to clear up those things, which seemed to me most liable to mislead them; and either to Answer or Obviare those Objections, which are already made, or, so far as I can at present Foresee, may probably hereafter start up in their Way to unsettle them about the same. All which, as I have labour'd in, with an Humble Dependance on God's Grace and Assistance; so I now humbly recommend to his Blessing. Desiring nothing more, than that he may Graciously Accept the same, and Pardon all the oversights and well-meant Failures and Mistakes which shall happen to be found therein, and direct and turn this Work, Poor and Defective as it is to the Uses and Interest of Truth and Godliness, and to the Edification and Service of his Holy Church.

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**T**HE Plea of a Deprivation of State, represented in Bar of their Ministrations in the foresaid Cases. Concerning which, 1. This is to be propos'd under a Supposed Legal, and Rightful State. 2. Its Deprivation, is a conscionable Discharge from their Spiritual Ministrations in the foresaid Cases. This is meant only of pure Spiritual Ministrations. Not 3. of any temporal Accessions and Inforcements of those Ministrations; over which the State has Power, because it conferr'd them. As also, over some other members belonging to the Church, whilst it kept separate, which it gives up to the State, during its Incorporation with it. These it gives up 1. with a view to the Interests, of Religion, and of Souls. 2. Only whilst it continues protected, not when the State puts True Religion under Persecution.



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### OF SCHISM.

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**J**ust Ground to break off Communion from any Churches, 1. When they put impious or unlawful Things into their Sacred Offices. Reasons heresof. Faith and Worship spoke of as the great Ligaments, which Bind us to any Church. 2. More still, if they admit none to Communion in the good Part, unless they particularly concur in the corrupt ones too. 2. A Second Ground, is, if they make unrighteous Usurpations the Condition of their Communion.

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Heresie a just Ground to break off Communion.

**C**hrists first end, was to Publish a Religion. Next, to Incorporate us into a Church or Society, for the Profession of it, Christian Doctrine, the Foundation of Church Society and Uniry. So we are not Bound to Associate or Unite with any, longer than they keep to this Doctrine, but are discharged by their Heresie. And on the Evidence of the Fact it self, before Synodical Sentence. This Liberty 1. For the People, and Clergy, towards their own local Guides, and Bishops. 2. For Clergy, and People of the Church, towards those of another. And on Desertions from grand and necessary Doctrines of Practice, as well as of Faith. Chiefly, when the Ministerial Defence of either, is no longer allow'd in their Communion. Being thus set loose from their own Erring Bishops and Clergy, they are free to Unite with others who are Orthodox. And those others, are free to receive them. Canonical Rules against intermeddling in others Diocess, &c. no hindrance thereto. Rules of Uniry, not pleadable by such Defectors, for uniting with them. The Guilt of making the Schism, lies on the Defectors. Should their Brethren come over, that would not Cure, but make the Breach from the Catholick Church wider.

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maticks as Brethren: but as being in a Schism, they must stand off from their Communion. A great Sense of the Obligations, to shun the Communion of Schismaticks, and corrupt Teachers, in the first Times. This was most, when Charity was at the height. This will bar Communion 1. with the Electors, and Ordainers of such Anti-Bishops. 2. With their Clergy and People, or the Assemblies of their Diocess. 3. With other Bishops and Churches, who take their part, and communicate with them. 4. With the Bishops of a Province, who turn over to an Anti-Primate or opposite Metropolitane. Of Provincial Union, and the Rules for Maintenance thereof. 5. When Church Divisions are made for opposite Ways of Worship and Tenets, Men will Unite with such as are of their own Mind, and hold Communion with those, who are for the same way of necessary Worship and Tenets with themselves.

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OF St. Cyprians saying the Anti-Bishop is not Secundus, but Nullus. That Anti-Bishops are real Bishops, and their Ordinations are not Null in themselves; but were admitted, in the Novatians, by the Council of Nice. In the Donatists, by the Roman and African Councils. The same shown in several other Cases. Tho' Men have Orders, yet they cannot exercise the same in Assemblies of the Faithful, without the Communion of the Church. Such Offenders Received, sometimes to Clerical, sometimes only to Lay-Communion, as the Church saw Cause. The Case of the Anti-Bishops ordain'd by the Schismatick Meletius. Ecclesiastical Laws and Discipline asserted, or abated in such Receptions, as was judged most expedient for the Church. The Donatists made Schism, to take away the Powers of Orders, and are opposed therein by St. Austin. How St. Cyprian and the Africans, of his Age, seem to have done the same, which St. Basil disliked in them. Altho' their Nulling the Ministerial Acts of Schismaticks, seems to be only in the Way of Asserting Discipline and Canons, by denying Communion to them in their Churches; not that they thought them Null in themselves. How the Admission of Ordination of Anti-Bishops, Consists with the Bishops being the Principle of Unity, and is not against the Nature of the Spiritual Monarchy. A Difference as to this, between Secular and Spiritual Monarchies: And of Local Limitations in conferring Orders.

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Of Communicating in like Necessity, where there are some Prayers Sinful in the Matter of them.

**T**O concur or go along in any unrighteous Petition or Thanksgiving, a most Unrighteous and Prophane. Of mixt Prayers, where the Mixtures are Idolatrous, &c. Or where some Immoral Petitions are added to a Service not exceptionable on any other Accounts. Of Bearing such Immoral Mixtures, whilst they do not particularly concur therein, but express Dissent from the same, and resorting still to the Assemblies where they are used, in Care of keeping Peace and Union. Of Bearing the same, for the Necessity of having some Ministerial Offices in want of other Opportunities. Mere Presence at such Immoral Additions, no interpretative Profession of Concurrence therein. Chiefly if Dissent be shewn by some external Sign. Of these Concessions of favour and ease. All highly concern'd to take the Right way in the Points here Debated. Unsafe, should they take the wrong, to trust to the Plea of mistake and Ignorance. Of Zeal against Popery alledg'd therein. The Conclusion.

## PART I.

*Of the Duty of Pastors to Exercise their Spiritual Powers, and to afford the People Orthodox and Holy Ministrations.*

### CHAP. I.

*Of the Differences here Treated of, and of the Schism consequent thereon.*

**R**Evolution of States and Kingdoms, when they have put them into the Possession of New Masters, are wont to bring on *New Oaths of Allegiance*, for Security of the *New Possessors*; and also, to bring on *Alterations of Publick Prayers and Liturgies*, so far, at least, as concerns the Cause and Interest of the Governing Persons; that *Religious*, as well as *Civil Offices and Ministrations*, may espouse and serve their Cause, who have got the Power into their Hands.

These Impositions of such *New Oaths*, and of such *Alterations and Ordering of the Publick Worship*, pursuant to the Design thereof, are usually followed with *Acts of State*, for *Deprivation of those Bishops and Clergy*, who *Refuse and Stand off from the same*; and for *Substituting opposite or Anti-Bishops*, and other *Clergy*, that will conform thereto, into their Places. And when these are executed accordingly, especially in much disputed Cases, it may be an afflictive Sight to many good & Christian Minds, in just acknowledgement to the extraordinary, and perhaps generally celebrated Merits of Some, and in due Compassion to the hard Measure of all the Sufferers. But it will be much more impressive and lamentable, on the Score of that terrible *Rent and Schism*, thereby like to ensue in such Churches,

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which is so generally and deservedly dreaded and bewailed, by all Sincere Promoters of *Unity*, and unfeigned Lovers of *Peace*, and of the *Prosperity* of the *Church*.

This Breach being thus made, on *One Side*, *The Sufferers will be prest'd to Submit, in Regard to the Deprivation of the State*. And moreover, supposing themselves injured, they will be put in Mind of the justly magnified excellency of the Desirableness, and Necessity of *Unity*; and will be call'd upon as *Good Pastors*, who prefer the *Flock*, before themselves, to give up Private Claims to Publick Peace, and Personal Quarrels and Pretences to the Advantage and Edification of the Church. And this Preference of Peace to private Interests, they must own to be the Duty of all good Pastors, and as, becomes such, profess to set these things above all Worldly Profits and Considerations; being ready, when call'd thereto,

\* *To lay down even their Lives for the Sheep*, after the Example of \* *Job 10. 11*, the *Great Shepherd*. And 'tis not improbable, but that at such times, they may wish withal, that their Admonishes had been as ready to follow this Advice, as they are to give it; and had, like good and conscionable Christians, reflected seasonably and seriously themselves, upon these Duties of Peace and Unity, before they had acted so much against them, in rushing Head-long, as they may alledge, into that Breach, which in the End, the generality see so great cause to lament, but which the Sufferers have no Power to Remedy. Or, that in Just and Necessary Remorse, for what they have done, they would penitently return whence they are fallen; and seeing their Error, so unhappily over-looked before, by coming into the old Paths, re-unite themselves to their Brethren again.

But on the *Other hand*, they will be ready to put their Brethren and Accusers in Mind, that neither a *State Deprivation*, nor a *Synodical Deprivation*, had there been one, can discharge a Bishop from standing up, to keep off Damage and Danger to Religion, and to the Souls of Men, or from preventing their being nursed up in immoral Practices and Devotions. And that True and Faithful Pastors, are not so straightly bound to keep up external Unity and Peace, as to keep up necessary Truth and Righteousness, and holy and unpolluted Worship, in the Church. Their Charge is, first, To provide against all things that endanger or destroy the Souls of Men, and dammifie Religion; and when that is done, then to look how they may provide against all Schism, or breach of external Unity, with their Compastors or Brethren; but never seek to salve and secure this, by letting those alone.

Besides, as to *Peace and Union*, instead of carrying themselves off from Truth and Righteousness at such times, or any good People off from them, they will alledge, that they oblige all, who will make Conscience thereof, and observe them as they ought, to stick to them. For the *Unity*, which

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which *Christ* requires, is, to keep united upon the Profession of true Doctrine and holy Worship; not of any damnable Errors and Corruptions thereof. And under our own Lawful and Canonical Bishops and Pastors, not under any opposite or Anti-Bishops and Pastors, *Schismatically* set up against them, and violently intruding into their Places.

The determination of this Debate at all such times, & on all such Emergencies, is both of highest account, and of most general Concernment. And the design of these Papers, is to set down those things, whereon, in my Judgment, the clearing of it must depend; and by the help whereof, Sincere Christians, in such Divisions, may be enabled to resolve, both what is the Duty of the Suffering Bishops and Clergy, in those Cases; and also, what is the Peoples Duty, and with which of the concern'd Parties, Men, who desire nothing so much, as to please God, and to keep a good Conscience, ought to unite and joyn themselves.

As to the deprived Bishops and Clergy, at such times, the question is, Whether, notwithstanding their Deprivation, they are Bound still to go on in the Exercise of their Ministry? Or, sitting down under it, and letting fall their Spiritual Ministrations, they should consent themselves to keep united the Anti-Bishops, and to their Adherents, as Lay-Communicants.

If it be their Duty still to insist on their Spiritual Powers, and, as they can, and at their Perils to exercise their respective Ministrations; those Churches are unavoidably left in a State of *Flagrant Schism*. For the opposite or Anti-Bishops are set up against them, in their respective Churches, as *New Heads*. And if the Old Ones are not only still in place, and Bishops of their Flocks, but still bound to stick thereto, and to act as *Heads* of those Churches; each Church will stand divided between two *Heads*: which drawing opposite Parties and Members after them, must unavoidably make two Bodies, and send one into two Churches. And besides, one having the Protection and Countenance of the State, and the other wanting it, they must act by divided and separate Ministrations. One, in the way of an *Incorporate Church*, encouraged by Legal Places and Preferments, and fortified by secular Laws and Privileges. But the Other, in the way of a *Desolate or Persecuted Church*, stripped of the Publick Churches, and of secular Benefices, and of all Temporal Aids and Methods, directing and fortifying the Spiritual Jurisdiction in the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, and left merely to its Spiritual Powers. When the State deprives them, they must take up with what is independantly and originally their own, and not expect from it the Benefits and Assistances of any secular mixtures, which were derived to them by Incorporation.

As to this point of *Schism*, several good Minds may think, that though, by setting up opposite or Anti-Bishops against them, in their respective Sees, others have already made it; yet may it be in the Power of the se-



jured Sufferers, by their Receding and Submission thereto, to remedy and put an end to it. And 'tis like many Serious and hearty Lovers of Peace, and of those Churches, may at such times be apt to wish, that, for the sake of *Unity*, they would do so.

Indeed, where they may be free to do as they please, that is, when no part of Faith or good Practice is like to suffer by it, nor the safety and welfare of those Souls committed to them, is hazarded thereby, much may be said to good Pastors, not to insist too much on their Personal Rights and Privileges, but to forego and give them up, for the Peace and Tranquility of the Church. Their Spiritual Powers are committed to them, not as to

\* *Lords of Gods Heretage*, therewith to seek and serve themselves; but as to † *Stewards*, that look after it for another; or as

\* *Shepherds*, thereby to serve and Benefit their *Flocks*. Their Powers are all a † *Ministry*, to promote Religion, and serve the Church, by parting with any thing of their own for its good, as their *Great Master*

did; not to please or aggrandize their own Persons, being \* *given them for Edification*, or wherewith to build up the Church; *not for Destruction*,

or the pulling of it down. Accordingly, the Pastoral Spirit is a generous Publick Spirit. Nothing is more opposite thereto, than narrow private Aims, and seeking of themselves; nor more required thereby, than neglect, or denial of themselves, for the Safety and Profit of their *Flocks*,

and Care or Sollicitude for others. It lies, as the Blessed Apostle saith,

in \* *Naturally caring for the Churches*. In † *Seeking not their own things, but the things which are Jesus Christs*. In \* *not seeking their own Profit, but the Profit of many, that they may be saved*. In † *making themselves Servants to all*, when thereby they could Profit the State of Religion, and

their *Flocks*, though it were by Incumbring and Prejudicing themselves; *becoming all things to all Men, that by all means they may save some*.

And therefore, when it has only been a cause of their own Persons, or Personal Claims, but not of Religion, or of the Interest of the Church;

Good and Holy Bishops have thought it became the Pastoral Spirit, rather to recede, and sit down under the Injuries, than, that for their

Sakes, a Fatal *Schism* should be kept on in the Church. \* *If this Schism be for my Sake, send me away, or I will depart whither you please, and do what the People would have me, that the Flock of Christ, with the Presbyters over it, may be kept in Peace*: Was what St. Clemens Romanus, St. Paul's

\* *Fellow-Labourer*, recommended to the Heads of Parties in the Church of Corinth; and press'd by the Example of *Moses*, who was \* *content to be blotted out of the Book of Life*, to save the *Israelites*; and of those *Kings*,

who, even among *Heathens*, devoted themselves to Death, for the Preservation of their own Countries. We ought to endure any thing, rather than

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\* 1. Pet.

5. 2, 3.

† Tit. 1. 7.

1. Pet. 4. 10.

\* Eph. 4. 11.

Jer. 3. 15.

† Mat. 20.

26, 27, 28.

\* 2. Cor.

10. 8.

\* Phil. 2. 10.

† v. 2.

\* 1. Cor. 10.

33.

† 1. Cor. 9.

19, 20, 21,

22, 23.

\* Clem. Ro.

Ep. 1. ad Cor.

c. 53, 54, 55.

ed. Ox. p. 113,

114.

\* Phil. 4. 3.

† Exod. 32.

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that the Church of Christ should be divided. Yea, 'tis not only as Glorious, but more Glorious in my Judgment, to suffer Martyrdom, for keeping out Schism in the Church, than for not Sacrificing to Idols: saith Dionysius of Alexandria to Novatus, on the division made at Rome. † If I am any way the cause of your Division, I am not better than the Prophet Jonah; throw me into the Sea, so that thereby the Tempest of those Troubles may cease from you. Whatever you see needful to that end, I chuse to suffer. Tho' I am blameless, \* and have been no cause of these Troubles; yet, for your Unity and Peace-sake, I am content to be thrust out of the Throne, and to be expell'd the City: says Gregory Nazianzen, in his Speech to the Synod, on the contest of Maximus Cynicus, for his See of Constantinople. And we are ready to leave this Prelacy to whom you will; provided that way the Church may continue one, \* said St. Chrysostom, when at Constantinople, others, as he complains, had unlawfully ascended the Episcopal Throne, and thereupon a Separation was made from him.

But in Cases, where the injured Sufferers are still bound to insist on their Powers, and to stand up for Religions Sake, and the Churches; this way of curing a Schism by their receding, has no place. And therefore this Obligation to exercise their Ministries, I have fixed the Debate upon, in the case of such deprived Bishops and Ministers. For if they stand bound in Duty at such times, to exercise their Ministrations; though never so desirous of Peace and Unity, they cannot cure that Schism, which others have made, by letting their Ministrations fall. And, besides it's directly meeting that Pretence, and fully answering it: I think it plainest to be apprehended, and more powerful to operate on the Minds of those, who are to be directed, and resolved in this Dispute.

\* Ap. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 6. c. 45.

† εἰ δὲ πὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τῆς δια-  
στασεως αἰτία, ὅς. Gregor.  
Presbyt. vita Gregor. Nazianz.  
p. 31. praefix. op. Nazianz. &  
Nazianz. de vita sua Carm. p. 29.  
\* καὶ περὶ Κλαυδίου τοῦ χα-  
ριων ἀνατίς, ὅς. Greg. Naz.  
Carm. p. 29.

\* Homil. 11 in  
Ep. ad Eph.  
Sub fin.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the Immoral ways introduced by a wrong payment  
of Allegiance.*

**T**HE Bishops and Clergy, who are deprived by the State, when they cannot comply with the forefaid Changes and Impositions on such Revolutions, notwithstanding the deprivation of State, still retain their Episcopal and Sacerdotal Powers. That is, they are as Bishops and Priests, as they were before. They are still endowed with the Powers of Orders, and their use thereof would be as valid, tho' not as to secular Claims and Privileges, which are the Gift of Princes, yet as to the real Effects of the Covenant of Grace, or to purely spiritual purposes, as they would have been, had they not been so deprived.

For these Powers are not derived from the State, nor from any secular Authority. They are called the *Powers and Keys*, not of any Kingdom of this World, but of the Kingdom of Heaven, Mat. 16. *Christ was a Spiritual King, disclaiming all secular Authority of the Sword, and † declaring his Kingdom was not of this World, to be upheld by his Servants Fighting with the Sword.* And he instituted all Church Powers; yea, these he instituted before the Church came to be Incorporated with the State, and made no new Institution or alteration therein afterwards. And when secular Powers turn'd Christians, they became the Members of an empowered Church, and were let in by Ministers, and privileged to claim Ministrations from Powers antecedently received from Christ; and not at all needing to be received from them, nor capable of being conferr'd by them, as having never been conferr'd on them.

Nor are these Powers to be held, only during the Will and Pleasure of the State. For then they could not be retained against its Mind. And so, not in a state of Persecution, when the secular Power sets it self to root out the Church, and all Church-Powers and Ministrations. Whereas, these Powers were given to the Church, bearing Christ's Cross, and labouring under Persecutions; and to continue in it always, even to the end of the World, under whatever circumstances, as well when secularly Oppressed, as when Protected. Accordingly, these spiritual Powers were held on by the Apostles, when the secular Rulers declared against their Apostolical Authority, and † forbid them to Preach any more in the Name of Jesus. And by the Bishops and Clergy, in all the succeeding Persecutions. For all Persecutions of the Church, were Per-

† Jo. 18. 36.

† Act. 4. 18,  
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utions of all Church Administrations, and of Bishops and Priests in a more especial manner, who were chief Actors, and at the Head thereof. In especiall Edicts and Prosecutions were made against them, for being vested with these Authorities; as the *Title of St. Cyprian's Prescriptions*, was for being † *Episcopus Christianorum*, or a *Christian Bishop*: which Authorities therefore, would no longer have belonged to them, could Persecuting Power have deprived, or bereaved them thereof.

† Cyp. Ep. 66.  
p. 106. Ed.  
Ox.

And this retaining their spiritual Powers, will be allowed by their Adversaries, who † acknowledge, that the deprivation of State is no degradation, to divest them of their Character, or spiritual Powers contained in Orders: but only a debarring them of *exercise thereof in their dominions*, and in way of an incorporate Church, under State Encouragements. So that, if they do exercise their Ministry, there will be no want of Spiritual Powers, to render their Acts Nullities, or of no effect and validity before Christ. But only want of secular Benefices, and encouragements to them; and of submission, as they alledge, to the secular Power, or of secular Obedience.

† Indicat. of  
the unreasonableness of the  
new Separation, p. 9, 11.  
And a Vindication of their  
Majesties Authority to fill  
the Sees of the  
deprived Bishops, p. 18,  
19, 20.

And having still their Episcopal and Ministerial Powers, 'tis next to be considered, whether *they stand bound to exercise and make use thereof?* 'Tis not to be brought into this Question, what is to be done herein, by *Worldly Arguments*, as they stand deprived of their Livelihoods, and want of Maintenance, how hard soever this may fall, either upon themselves, or their Families. Which, however it may abate or excuse, especially to compassionate Natures; yet is no justification of things, that are otherwise unjustifiable on principles of Religion and Conscience. But what is to be done on conscientious Arguments, that are to rule their Determinations as Christians, especially as Divines; or that they may faithfully discharge their duty? What is to be done by spiritually-minded and mortified Men, who are raised above this World, and present God and Religion before themselves?

Nor is the Dispute, Whether the Ministerial Powers be such a burden, that Men must be always pressing and obtruding the exercise thereof, without any regard to the wants of the Place, or the needs of the Church. † *Necessity is laid upon me, and was be to me, if I preach not the Gospel*, was spoke in the want of true Preachers, when \* *the Harvest was Great, but the Labourers were Few*. It spoke a necessity introduced, not merely by the Power of Orders, but also by the circumstances of Times and Persons, when the exercise thereof was necessary in want of Preachers, for the use of the Church. But in plenty of true Preachers, there would not have been the same necessity; nor would they have been bound to this exercise, in place where there was no need of their Gifts, but the same were exercised by others. In this surplussage

† 1 Cor. 9. 16;  
Luk. 10. 2.



† 1 Cor. 14.  
32, 33.

of Supplies, for Church-uses and necessities, † *the Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets*, and their Powers must either be exercised or forborn and suspended, as makes most for Order, and Edification and the Peace of the Church.

But this exercise, the deprived Bishops and Clergy are bound to, Duty and Conscience at such times, *If there is a need of their Ministrations then, to provide for Religion and the Souls of Men; or to prevent Men from being nursed up in destructive Ways, as Immoral Practices, and Immoral Worship and Devotions*, must be confessed to be.

To clear this, it may not be amiss to consider;

First, *What Immoralities come in, by a wrong payment of Allegiance, corrupt Religion, and to endanger Souls.*

Secondly, *What Provision good and faithful Pastors ought to make against such Dangers and Corruptions, by the exercise of their Ministry.*

First, I shall briefly consider, *what Immoralities come in by a wrong Payment of Allegiance, to corrupt Religion, and to endanger Souls.*

Whether this is actually the case of any Kingdom, and the Allegiance required of them by their *New Governors*, be directed and paid wrong, I do not here discuss. That makes another dispute, *viz. about the Right to the Crown contested betwixt the two Competitors in those Countries, and the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of the New Oaths of Allegiance*, consequent thereupon, which is exacted on such changes. And this, it is a part of the design of these Papers, to argue or meddle with.

But when this really is the case in any Revolution, as in this World God knows, it is too often; or among those Subjects, who believe this of their case, and that their Allegiance is call'd for to the Wrong, against the Right Person: Such as these are the Immoralities, that will every where corrupt Religion, and endanger Souls, whilst such wrong Payment lasts, and which should be thought to do so among them. *viz.*

Then all that time, whilst they are violently transferring their Allegiance from him, to whom it still Remains rightfully due, would Men in the general Practice of those Nations, be wickedly disobeying, and forceably resisting Gods Authority, or the Father of the Fifth Commandment, which extends to civil, as well as natural Parents. Then would they all that while be most openly, and horribly breaking through all former Oaths of Allegiance. Then would all, who have promised, and pay their Allegiance, to drive out their elected Prince out of any part of his Right, or to keep him out thereof, be actors of bare-faced Iniquity, and heinously unrighteous, coveting and invading their Neighbours Goods. And a

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force used against him, or any other Persons, for their adhering to his Cause, would, in *Gods* Account, be oppression, and unjust Violence; all Spoils and Seisures of their Goods, would be Thefts and Robberies; and all shedding of their Blood, all Cries and Clamours for it, or rejoycing in it, would be horrible Murders; which, not only they who acted, but they who Wish'd, or Prayed for, or gave Thanks for, when accomplished, would be Guilty of. All which, are most dangerous and destructive ways, and amount to a general Breach of *Gods* Commandments, and to an open wast of Moral Honesty and Justice. And all these, would be the Dangers to Mens Souls in any Kingdom, were the Transfation of *Allegiance*, such an unrighteous Perversion, really, and in it self. Or, they would be met, with like Pastoral Provisions, as if they were so Dangerous, should the deprived Pastors believe, and apprehend it to be such. For it would have the same effect, to awaken their Care and Ministration, if it appeared so to them, and brought all these Dangers on the People, in their Apprehension.

Besides, it may happen, that in the Opinion of the much greater part of the Swearers themselves, this *Allegiance* shall be transferr'd and paid to the King *Regnant*, and profess'd by them to be so, only as to the King *in Fact*, leaving the other still to be King *de jure*, or to retain the *Legal Rights*. Now, if any ejected Prince, is any where admitted to have the *Legal Rights*, by turning their *Allegiance* to his Competitor against him, the Subjects of those Countries, would fall into all the same fore-mentioned Practices. If he remains their *Rightful King*, 'tis *Disobedience* and *Rebellion*, or *Resisting of Gods Ordinance, to take up Arms against him*; or to abet, aid, and pray for the Prosperity and Success of those, who take up Arms against him. 'Tis a Literal down right Breach, of all Oaths formerly made to such *Rightful King*, to *bear Allegiance to him*, and to *defend him therewith, against all Attempts made against his Person, or Crown*. 'Tis to be Self-Conderned of the Highest Injustice, by Forcing, or Keeping him out of that, which they own to be his *Right*. 'Tis to be Guilty, of Murders, and Robberies, in all the Blood-shed, and Spoils, which, in the course of their *New Allegiance*, they have abetted, or prayed for, or attempted to make on him, or on his Adherents, for his Cause. For all *Allegiance* is due, and required by *God*, to be paid to *Rightful Kings*. And to those, who have, and stand upon their *Right*, whether they be of the actual Administration of their respective Realms. And this, to those who have the *Legal Right*, which is not set aside by *Provisional Possession*. All which, they who please, may see proved, in a Treatise Entituled, *The Duty of Allegiance settled upon its true Grounds, according to Scripture, Reason &c.* So that there would be a like wast of Moral Honesty, and Just Practice at such times, and like Danger to

the Souls of Subjects, to call for the Preventive or Medicinal Help of their Ministrations, by their Swearing Brethrens own Principles, should it prove, that the ejected Prince has the *Legal Right*, according to their Apprehensions, and Authorized Writings in this Case.

And this Immorality and Dishonesty, would endanger Mens Souls at such times, not only as appearing in Practice, but also, as appearing in Worship and Devotions. For all these Unrighteous, Dishonest, and Immoral things, should they be found such, are not only daily acted by Subjects of such Realms, in the course of Practice; but use also to be daily offer'd and recommended to God, in their Solemn Worship and Devotions.

For the daily Prayers for such Governments, use to be the same, as for any other preceeding, and confessedly most rightful Governments, viz. For the *Prosperity, and continuance of their Administrations*, for their *overcoming all their Enemies and Opposers*, and for *Gods confounding all their Devices against them*, &c. When there is a State of Declared War and Opposition, between them and their Competitor himself, called by the Swearing Brethren, the *King de jure*. There use moreover, to be particular Acknowledgements and Thanksgivings inserted, for the Subjects being *delivered of their former King*, and for having their *present Governors to Reign over them*, in his Place. And particular Prayers for the *Prosperity of their Arms, both by Sea and Land*; when those Arms are employed particularly against him, and against those, who as the Publick Acts at such times use to say, *Rebelloiously adhere to him*, and when they are to drive him out of such parts of the Dominions, as he still holds from them; or to keep him out of other parts thereof, if he shall make any attempt to recover the same out of their Hands. And besides that these things use to be daily recommended to God, as part of the publick Offices: They are further, an Occasion, made the profest Aim of other Solemnities of Religion, and Solemn and appropriate Times, are appointed on purpose for them, and devoted to them. As set Days of *Fasting and Humiliation*, for ingaging God to give Success to these Arms and Expeditions. And set Days of *Thanksgiving*, for Returning Solemn Thanks to God, for any Victory or Success he has afforded in that Cause, after they have received the same.

Now these, in behalf of a *Legal Rightful King*, and where they are not made in any other Pretenders wrong, are Just and Pious Prayers. But if in any Time or Kingdom, they should be made by Subjects, for an unjust Possessor of anothers Crown, against their *Lawful King*; they would be Prayers put up, for all the fore-said Iniquities and Immoralities of Perjury and Rebellion, of Oppression, Injustice, and all sorts of unrighteous Violence. Or, if made against one, owned to be *King de jure*,

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...or the *Lawful King*; they would still be so unavoidably, according to those Persons Principles; and would be so held and accounted by them, if they, who profess to go, and act upon such Principles, would be true to them.

And the bringing such heinous Immoralities and Iniquities, into *God's* own House and Worship, I think would plainly be most highly affronting, and offensive to the Great and Dreadful *God*, and as dangerous to the Souls of Men, as can well be imagined. For these Iniquities and Immoralities, give high Provocation to *God*, when he meets them in any place, or sees them committed by those, who still retain that Reverence for him, as to believe that he forbids them, and is Angry at them. But to bring them as an Offering into his own House, and to recommend them in Prayers and Religious Solemnities, is to make him a Party therein, or pleased therewith; and to the Heinousness of those Ways, as they are Acts of high Disobedience, adds, moreover, an horrid, and more immediate Blasphemy of *God* himself. Such an Immoral Worship, is a charge of his being an *Immoral God*: Which *Plutarch*, a Wise, and Piously disposed *Heathen*, thought a more intollerable Reproach, than to deny his Being, and say, *There is no God*. Thus, as he observes, any Good and Virtuous Person would resent it, in his own Case. For, *I* saith he, *had rather have it said, and should think he wronged me less, who should say, there never was, nor is, such a Man as Plutarch: Than have another affirm, yes, there is such a Person: But he is a Man of no Steadiness, Mutable, Angry, Greedy of Revenge for every light Cause, that will sell out with you for Trifles, and if you are wanting in any Ceremony, would be ready to gnaw your Flesh, or slay your Son, or turn in Cattle to trample down and devour your Corn.* And Answerably, the fixing these, or any such like Immoral and Blasphemous Characters on *God*, he thinks, is *not less Impious*, than *Atheism* it self is.

And should these fore-said ways prove Immoralities, both in Practice, and in publick Prayers and Devotions; those few deprived Bishops and Clergy in any Kingdom, who suffer for standing out against the same, when the most run into them, cannot but see Men generally Nurtured up therein.

For, as to the Practice of those Immoralities, carnal Reasons, and the course of the Times, and the Terror of the present Powers, will make them go down with most Men. And their Spiritual Guides, will nurse and train them up therein, if once they themselves are generally got in to go along therewith, and to do the same. Nay, when a general Persecution is raised, to drive on the unwilling, and to force them

† ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν ἀν' ἐδέλομαι  
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γειν περὶ ἐμῆς, μᾶτε γὰρ  
εἶναι τὸ πᾶσι πάντων, μᾶτε  
εἶναι πλεοναρκῶν, &c.  
*Plut. de Superstitione* Op.  
*Tom. 2. p. 170.*



to comply for external Interests; they will then stand ready to carry on the same, with regard to Conscience. If any start, or stand off, when consulted, they direct, and perswade them to come in, as they see they themselves have done, and tell them, it will be no matter of Guilt, or of Spiritual Danger to them. And when once they are got in, they speak, and Preach Peace to them, that they may feel no Remorse for so doing, nor Harbour any Thoughts of Returning. And to take off all apparant Inconsistence, from the Commands of God, and the Duties of Religion, about Oaths, and Obedience to Governours, and Common Justice, and not coveting or invading other Mens Goods or Rights, and the like, that are ready to fly in their Faces, and bear hardest on what they have done: They start doctrinal *Salvo's* for all these Precepts, to cover their own Ways, from falling under the same, and to prove there is no Sin therein, notwithstanding all the seemingly plain, and Literal Opposition, which those Precepts and Duties bear to them.

And then, as to these same Immoralities, in publick Worship and Devotions; if these ways should really prove Immoralities, at such Times they are plainly Nursed up in them, because they are part of the *Daily Prayers*, and, on Occasion, are the set *Fasts* and *Thanksgivings*, in all the publick Churches and Assemblies. The authorized and establish'd Guides and Pastors, every where then observe and use them, (such States not Authorizing and Establishing, but Depriving the Refusers thereof;) and put them into the Peoples Mouths, if they will follow and say after their Leaders. And this is to be train'd and nursed up in such Devotions, in such sort as People are trained up in any Devotions by their Guides: that is, by being convened and call'd to them, and, in the publick Ministration, lead on therein; the Pastors part, as to this, lying in Leading, as the Peoples doth in Following them.

So that the People in such cases, are generally trained, and nursed up, in these Practices and Devotions. Which, if, for want of Legal Right or Just Title in their New Governour, and for the Continuance of the same in his Competitor, they prove Unrighteous and Immoral Ones; they would be nursed up, in Immoral Practices and Devotions. And what Obligation that would lay, on the Suffering and Deprived Bishops and Clergy of those Countries, for Pastoral Ministrations, will appear, by Considering.

2. Secondly, *what Provision, good and Faithful Pastors ought to make against such Dangers and Corruptions, by the Exercise of their Ministry, which shall be treated of in the Ensuing Chapters.*

CHAP.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the Cases, wherein faithful Bishops and Ministers, are bound to stick to their Pastoral Powers and Ministrations.*

NOW, if under such Revolutions, for want of such Right and Title in the New Governor, and for continuance of the same in his Competitor, all the foresaid Practices and Devotions are unrighteous and immoral in themselves; this Exercise of their Ministrations, for provision and spiritual supply of all conscionable Adherers to Truth, and to Morality in Practice and Devotions, is to be expected of them, from the reality and obligation of things. If they think them to be so, and they are such in their Judgments; 'tis to be expected from *Men of their apprehensions*, and for them to act so, is but to be true to their own Conversions. If their Brethren own the ejected Prince, to have Legal Right still, or to be King *de jure*; they ought to expect no other from them, since that alone makes all the foresaid immoralities, and they can do no less, if they will act according to that Principle, which is owned and professed by themselves. The only Ground, whereon in Truth they could be exempted from this Exercise, and therefore on which alone it can with Reason be desired, or expected from them, is the *Translation of the Legal Right*; which would remove these immoralities. So, that they can only blame them for this Exercise, who believe the Translation of this Legal Right; nor can they make it appear, that they blame them with Justice, but by clearing this Point, and making Proof thereof.

Their Obligations, to exercise their Powers and Ministrations at such times, are to provide against the wants and dangers of the Souls of Men, and against the corruptions of Religion. And that, which will be ready at the same time, to be alledged against it, will be the *Inhibition and Deprivation of the New State*, and the appearance of *rending the Church thereby*, which is then become united under other Pastors put into their place, or of *making of a Schism*. And therefore, to give a clear Prospect, and for making a truer Judgment of the Obligations, which they stand under to this exercise on such Revolutions, I think it may be of use to consider,

1. *In what Cases, the good and faithful Bishops and Ministers of Christ, are Bound to stick to their Spiritual Powers and Pastoral Ministrations, and what Obligations they have to do so.*

2. Of

*Of the Cases, wherein Faithful Bishops and Ministers,* Part. I.

2. *Of what force a Deprivation of Estate, or the Preservation of external Communion and Peace in the Church, ought to be, in debarring them thereof.*

1. *First, I shall consider, in what Cases, the good and faithful Bishops and Ministers of Christ, are Bound to stick to their Spiritual Powers and Pastoral Ministrations, and what Obligations they have to do so.*

1. *I shall First speak to the Cases, wherein they are Bound to stick to their Spiritual Powers and Pastoral Ministrations, and are to go on acting as Bishops and Pastors.*

Now, this they are Bound to, *when there 'is need of it in the Cause of Religion, and for the safety of the Souls of Men.* For these Ministerial Powers, are Sacred Trusts. And the very end, why they are intrusted with the Bishops and Pastors, is, that thereby they may take care of Religion and the Peoples Souls, and provide for the needs thereof. So that they are always to be trustily Exercised, when these stand in Need of them: or, whenever the Souls of Men will be Endanger'd, and Religion Damnified, by the Pastors omitting such Exercise and Ministrations, in the places where they are concern'd.

I say, they are bound then to provide such Ministrations. For the Part of Bishops and Pastors, is not, like that of mere Lay-Christians, to communicate as they can, in what is provided for them by others. But as Pastors, they are to make Provisions. The Work of Ministers and Pastors, lies in Feeding of the Churches. This Feeding of Ministers, is Feeding them with Religious Offices and Ministrations. These, the People are to partake in; but the Pastors are to Provide, and Administer them. And this, as Religion, and the Souls of Men stand in need thereof. And they always need a Provision of such Ministrations, both of the Word, of Prayers, and Sacraments, as may Edifie but not Pervert, and Purge but not Pollute those, that seek to communicate therein. Therefore it lies upon them, I conceive, to provide and supply the Churches,

*First, With an Holy, or Sinless, and Unpolluted Worship, and such as may recommend the Worshipers to God, and is fit to be accepted,*

There is nothing, *that the Souls of Men may seem to need more, than such an Holy Worship.* For the Worship of God, is that, whereby in an Especial manner, they are to serve and please him: whereby, they must seek to expiate, and atone him after any Offences, which they have committed against him: whereby, they can gain his Favour, and Aid; it not only being the great means of their procuring, but also an establish'd Way of his Conveying and Deriving down to the Souls of his Servants, those Spiritual Graces and Blessings, which they need and long for. The Ministrations of Worship, are the Ministrations of the Spirit, to Minister and afford Grace to those who duly seek it; and so will be owned of highest Necessity, to all who see what need they have of the Divine

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Chap. 3. *are bound to stick to their Pastoral Ministrations.*

Grace and Bounty. And since the Worship of God is to stand them in so much Stead, they have need enough to have it Pure and Pleasing, that the Medicine be not turned into Poyson; that it do not affront and provoke God, instead of gaining and appeasing him; and stop Blessings, instead of bringing them down.

There is nothing also, that *Religion lies more in*. The Worship of God, is the most Direct and Immediate Act, and the most express and open Profession of Religion. It is a Service both Solemnly and Professedly Performed in the Presence, and immediately to the Person of God. And being so directly and immediately concern'd with it in Person, he is more nicely Tender of any Prophanation, or Wrong to him therein. 'Tis particularly in matters of his *Worship*, that he declares himself a *Jealous God*, in the *Second Commandment*. When Sin and Wickedness is sent up to him there, his own Person is immediately struck at. Instead of being Served and Honoured, he is Aspersed and Blasphemed by it. For such an Unholy Worship, Asperges and Slandershim, as if he were an Unholy God. 'Tis a Profession, to serve, and gain him, by wicked Ways; which represents him, as taking Pleasure in ill Things, and being ready to Patronize them; fixing upon him, our own Violences, and making him appear as bad, as we our selves are. And this is a most horrible Prophanation, and Blasphemously foul Aspersion, thrown upon the purest of all Beings. It is a turning Piety into Prophaneness; and our very Prayers into Libels, and Reproaches. So that if Men would have their Worship, truly Religious; or such as may truly Represent and Honour God, not Disgrace and Belye him: they must take care above all things, to preserve it free from all Prophane Matter, and Sinful Mixtures. As the Worship, is of an *Holy God*; so must what is Offer'd to him, be an *Holy Worship*. *Holiness becomes his House*, and more especially his Service. His Servants, must put up Holy Prayers, and not have their Prayers turn'd into Sin, or their Sins presented to God therein, which would turn Prayers into an Abomination.

And this is True, of all sorts of Sins, either *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, or *Immoralities*. The needs of Religion, and of the Church require, that Worship and Devotions be kept free from both, and that neither of them mix and incorporate therewith. Immoral Prayers, as well as Idolatrous Ones, are a Blasphemous Libel upon God, and an utter Prophanation and Prostitution of Worship and Devotion; they turn Prayer into an Abomination, and call down a Curse instead of a Blessing. And thus it was in the Heathen Devotions, which were not only *Idolatrous*, as being paid to False Gods: but too often *Immoral* and *Impure*, as being paid to Vicious and Dishonest Deities. *Mercury*, by their account was addicted to *Theft*; *Venus*, to *Whoredom*; *Bacchus*, to *Revelling* and *Drunkenness*;

† *Psal.* 93. 5.  
& *Pf.* 25. 6.



† See Dr.  
Hammond.  
Annot. in 1.  
Cor. 5. 10.  
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kenness; as others were to other Immoralities. And setting up such Immoral Deities, no wonder they should be † found paying them Immoral Services; and together with their *Idolatrous Sacrifices*, offering up all Immoral Services, as Uncleaness, Drunkenness, and Revellings, in their Temples. And these Immoralities, in *Lasciviousness and Excess of Wine*, as well as the Mis-applications of Worship therein, were the most Odious Prophanation and Blasphemous Reproach of God, and made them *Abominable Idolatries*, as St. Peter says, 1. Pet. 4. 3.

These Immoralities, whilst they find a place only in Practice, if persisted in, stop the Acceptance of Devotions. And so God told the Jews by his Prophet *Amos*, that till he saw a Course of Judgment and Righteousness, he should hate and despise their Feast-Days, and not Smell in their Solemn Assemblies, nor accept their Burnt-Offerings or Peace-Offerings, nor hear their Hymns and Songs of Praise, *Amos* 5. 21, 22, 23, 24. And the same he declares to them, by *Isaiah*, *Is.* 1. 11, to v. 18. and by *Jeremiah*, *Jer.* 6. 6, 20. And if they have such Fatal Effects, when presented to him only in Practice; what will they have when presented to him in Solemn Worship and Prayers, which makes the Prophanation thereof so much more Staring and Audacious, and the Provocation abundantly more Hainous.

Now these Sinless Prayers, free from Immorality, as well as from Idolatry, which Religion and the Souls of Men stand in such need of, it must be the Care of Pastors, to provide and Supply them with. As Ministers of Prayers, they must see that such be administered to them. Yea, as God himself is Jealous of his Honour, in these Services: So must they, as his Substitutes and Representatives, be Jealous for him, to maintain and preserve Purity therein. And that, to invite Honest and Sincere Tempers, to resort to Prayers and Divine Service: as well as to prevent their contracting Guilt, and Prophaning God instead of Pleasing him, when they are met there. For wicked and unrighteous Prayers, extremely disturb Righteous Petitioners, and drive away truly Pious and Devout Minds, making them *μὴ δακνέειν Θεῷ*, as it is in the Septuagint, on the Pollutions of the Sacrifices by Ely's Sons, that is, To forbear the Service of God, and to abhor the Offering of the Lord, 1 Sam. 2. 17, 24.

I do not say, there is the same need of affording the People of God this pure Worship, free from the Company of Immoral Practisers. The Congregation of Worshippers, or Church of God in this World, is like to be a Mixture of Persons; or as a Field, wherein Tares will grow mixed with the Wheat, till at the general Harvest, they come to be separated and Weeded out by the Angels, as our Lord † says. Immorality whilst only in Practice, tho' it Dishonour God, and hinder the Effect of Prayers as to the Practisers themselves; yet doth not affect Communion, or stain the

† Mat. 13.  
29, 30.

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Part. 1 Chap. 3. *are bound to stick to their Pastoral Ministrations.*

The Devotion of others, and intercept the Blessing from those good Practisers, who joyn with them in publick Offices. And this is the Error of those, among our Dissenters, who have insisted on the Plea of *mixture of Communion*, meaning thereby, a *Mixture of Persons*, or of good and bad Practisers in Gods Worship and Service, which they pretend should be made up of *Saints*, or of *Pure and Regenerate Souls*. Church-Governours, I grant, in such Sort, as may be most Medicinal to the Offenders themselves, and to preserve Religion from the stain, and the sound Members from the Infection of such Companions, are to remove such, (especially when the Immoralities are Gross and Notorious,) from Communion by Church-Censurers, so far as may be profitably and prudently done in Course of Discipline, and as Times and Circumstances, and the State of a Church in this corrupt and mixt World, will bear. But this will be no absolute Provision against them; and after all, the Church here will have a Mixture of Persons, or good and bad to meet together in Divine Offices, and 'tis not for any, to break Communion with it thereupon. But, though they are not universally to keep out Immoral Practisers; yet they are to keep out Immoral Prayers from publick Ministrations. For these are offer'd to all that come, though only fit to Poyson; not to Nourish them: And are put up to God, in the Name of the Congregation; and so are a publick, visible, and professed Dishonour to him. So that they, who have the Care of publick Worship, must take care to Purge them out of it.

It will be incumbent on them, to supply the Church,

2. Secondly, *With the Ministration of all that Truth, which is necessary to be believed, or Practised.* The Word, or Preaching of these Truths, to bear up Religion, and to save the Souls of Men. And the Ministry of this Word, is committed unto them.

This Ministration must be of all Necessary Truth. What our Lord entrusted with the Apostles, and, in them, with the Bishops and Pastors of the Church to the end of the world, is, *to Teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded*: Where all things, must needs take in all that are necessary. *Mat. 28. 20.* And St. Paul, in Discharge of his Care of Souls, pleads himself *pure of the Blood of all Men*, having declared to them the whole Counsel of God, which their Blood might any way depend upon, and having kept back nothing that was profitable to them, *Acts 20. 26, 27.* For in these Points, if the people perish through the Watch-Mans being Dumb, or for want of his giving warning; the People Die, indeed, and are taken away in their Iniquity, but their Blood will God require at the Watch-Mans hand, *Ezek. 33. 6, 8.* As for inferior Truths, which are not commonly necessary for Christians to know, and to be instructed in; but in

their Nature, are more indifferent: They may be forbore for Peace, as need requires, and to prevent great Stirs and Divisions in the Church. But Truths of Necessity and Importance, must not be neglected, or given up on such Pretences.

And it must be a Ministration of all that is necessary, *whether in Faith, or Practice*. That which makes either, to be a necessary part of the Ministration, is, because they are necessary parts of Religion, and necessary to the Souls of Men. And this makes an equal Necessity, in Ministering both. For Obedience, is as Necessary, and indispensable a Branch of the Gospel, as Faith: And Practical Opinions, are as much set by, as Propositions about Faith; and as much Dishonour may accrue to God, and as much Danger to the Souls of Men, by Practical, as by Speculative Heresies. Nay, many times more, since matters of Morality and Practice, are more naturally imprinted on all Mens Hearts, and are more easy and obvious to all Understandings. They lye open to the Unlearned, as well as to Learned Men. Yea, the Ignorant and Unlearned, oft-times continue to see them, when the Learned overlook them: a little Skill, with a sufficient Degree of Honesty, qualifying Men to discern these Matters; and there not being so much need of Learning, in those, who would descry, as there is in those, who would pervert and mistake them. And this makes the Mistakes of Men, in these Points, both more Dangerous to themselves, and more Dishonourable to Religion. For being so generally known, or easy of Knowledge. There is not like Room in them, for Extenuation and Excuse, of Error or Ignorance; as there is in Speculations of Faith, that are of harder Examination, and lie further off; which renders Practical Heresies oft-times more *Dangerous*. And on the same Account, the Dishonour to God and Religion thereby, is more universally noted, being more manifestly Apparent, and more sensibly Disgusting, to the Generality of Beholders: Which makes them also, more *Disgraceful* and *Scandalous*. And therefore they stand particularly bound, to Minister the Word, and give warning, in these Points: Both as what would oft-times more surely, and irremediably shed the *Blood of Souls*; and as what would prove more Scandalous in the Sight of all considerate Persons, and make Religion more generally *Despised*, *Blasphemed*, and *evil Spoken of*.

Particularly, it will be incumbent on them to supply the Church with the Ministration of Necessary Practical Truths;

1. *When Dangerous and Immoral Practices are setting up*. Especially if they are setting up generally, and most People are in danger of being drawn into them: As when they come dressed up, with Appearances and Recommendations of Wordly Ease, or Interests; or are driven

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driven on by the Arm of Secular Power, or by the Cry of a Time. And undisturbedly, as when they, who are in the place of Reproving, Dissemble and Connive at them; and are Dumb, not lifting up their Voices against them.

These Immoral Practices, tho' the Immoral Things are only Practised, but not Justified, are most Dangerous and Destructive to those Souls, who are involved therein. And when they see Men in the Ways of Death, the Watchmen are required at their Peril to give Warning, and to tell them what will be the End thereof. *If thou givest him not Warning, nor speakest to warn the Wicked from his wicked Way, to save his Life, his Blood will I require at thine Hand, Ezek. 3. 18, 20.* and cap. 33. 8. They are the Spiritual Weaknesses, and Diseases of Souls, their Strayings, and Loosing of themselves, in Wrong and Pernicious Ways. And the Duty of Shepherds, is not to stand off, or to keep Silent when these Maladies have seized the Flocks; but to shew their Pastoral Care, and make Provision for them. They are, as God tells the Shepherds by Ezekiel, *to Heal that which they find to be Sick, by applying proper Remedies; and to Strengthen that which is Diseased, Feeding it with wholesome Doctrine, or † Proper Aliment, as Grosius says † Bonis Ali-* upon it; *to bring again that which was Driven away, and to Seek that* *mentis. Gra;* *which was lost, if happily, by seasonable and needful Warning and Ad-* *ad loc.* *monition, they may recover it. Ezek. 34. 4. And if they take up with Feeding of themselves, and Neglect by these ways to Feed the Flocks at such times; he denounces Woes to them, ver. 2. and declares he will require his Flock at their Hand, ver. 10.*

I do not say Immoral Practices, are a Cause for Pastors to Separate Communions. For Immorality, whilst confined to Practice and Conversation, and not crept into Worship and Prayers, doth not hinder all Communion in Divine Service. Nor are we to separate from any Church in Divine Offices. because of a Mixture of Persons, or of their having Moral and Immoral Livers among them, as I observed before.

But they are an obliging Call to them, *to Minister the Word, to put a stop to them.* And if they cannot be allowed to do this in Communion with others; they must do it however, by breaking off from them, and Officiating by themselves. And such Breach, to say nothing of other Grounds, is consequential upon the Ministrations of the deprived Pastors, on such Revolutions. They are by their Deprivation Secluded from Ministering in the Authorized and Established Churches; and so must act separately, and Minister by themselves, if they are bound to Minister the Word at all.



2. When *ill, or immoral Practices*, are not only set up, but justified. And then *ill Practices*, are turn'd into *ill Principles*, and become *Doctrines*. There may be a Defection from Duties in Practice, whilst Men retain their Principles: Their Love of this World, and the Strength of Corrupt Passions, carrying them too oft, to act and do ill against their Judgments. But if their Opinion is brought over, and in Judgment they are reconciled to ill Ways; since all Judgment is upon Principle, that is, by change of Principles. Their Judgment then is perverted, by ill and Corrupt Doctrines. Which, having imbibed to corrupt, and alledging to clear and justify themselves, they will teach and propagate among others. And when, by venting corrupt Principles and Propositions, False Guides set up for Teachers of ill Things: 'Tis high-time, for True and Faithful Guides, to open their Mouths, and to strive for Truth and Righteousness against them. They are *ill Watch-Men*, if they are asleep, or silent, at such a Time. And *ill Shepherds*, if they take no care to lay wholesome things before the Flocks, and to drive away unwholesome, when the *Speakers of Perverse Things*, are endeavouring to Poyson them. And *Unfaithful Stewards*, and *Dispensers of the Word*, if, instead of dispensing it out, they smother and suppress it, when the Church is in the greatest need to be informed thereof.

Particularly, they are obliged to this Ministration, when the ill and Immoral Practices are justified.

1. First, In *some particular Cases*, especially, if those *Cases* are of *general Concern*, that draw in great Numbers of Persons. And may prove of *long Continuance*, to hold them on for a considerable Time, in the Repetition of the same Immoral Practices. Both which happen, in Case of Injustice, to dispossessed Princes, and of turning Allegiance against them; which concern all the Subjects of such Princes, and will continue so to do, till the Competition ceaseth.

Now these Immoralities in particular Cases, are the Immoralities, that will destroy Souls, when those Cases happen. It is in particular Cases, that particular Persons are Guilty of them, and liable to be condemned for them. So, 'tis in particular Cases, that they need to be warned against them, and shew'd the Danger of them.

And the giving them this Warning, in such particular Cases, as they come, is the Business of the *Watch-Man*. For he is set to Watch particular Cases, and against particular Occurrences; and is to call out and give warning, as oft as he espies any Harm, or Danger approaching therein. And if any perish in those Cases, for want of his giving them Notice, God tells him, *† He will require their Blood at his Hands*. The *Watch-Man*, must have both his Eyes abroad, to espie these Dangers; and his Tongue free, to proclaim, and give warning

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Warning of them: Being set to drive any approaching Evils away, by giving the Alarm for People to Arm against them, and to keep out of their Way. And if, like Men asleep, they take no Notice of Vices, when catching and over-running their Flocks, nor open their Mouths against them; the Scripture brands and upbraids them, as it did the *Prophets, and Watch-Men of Israel*, with the Name of *Dumb Dogs that cannot Bark*: It being the Office of *Priests and Prophets*, to reprehend and open their Mouths, against approaching Vices, as it is of Dogs set to watch the House, to open theirs, and Bark against approaching Thieves, as † *Grotius* comments upon it, *Isa* 56. 10.

† *ad loc.*

It is the part of † *Stewards and Rulers of the House*; who are set to attend all particular Cases, that may arise, and concern the Family; and still to Dispense and Deliver out, what Portion of Food, each Case, or Occasion, may make Needful, or proper for the *House-Hold*.

† *Luk. 12.*

42.

It is the Office of *Pastors and Shepherds*, to have an Eye to circumstances of Time and Place, and to Watch over their Flocks in particular Cases. The Needs of their Flocks, their Sickneses and Strayings, lye all in particular Cases. And, as the Work and Duty of *Shepherds*, lies in † *Feeding of their Flocks*, it will be their Duty to administer this Food, when they need it, and their Care and Provision must be for those particular Cases, which are in want thereof. Their *Feeding of their Flocks*, must be by *Strengthening them* in any Case, where they see them *Diseased*; or *Healing them*, where they find them *Sick*; or *Seeking after them*, when they are *Lost*; and *bringing them back* at any Time, when they are *gone Astray*, or are *Driven away*, as God tells the *Shepherds of Israel*, *Ezek. 34. 3, 4*. And if they Neglect, by due Ministrations to feed them in these Cases, where they are in so great want to be Fed; he tells them they are no *Shepherds*, but that his † *Flock is without a Shepherd*, v. 5. Or, that they are such † *Shepherd*, as *Feed not his Flock, but Feed themselves*, ver. 2, 8.

† *Ezek. 34.*

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† *v. 8.*

It is the Duty of *Ministers of the Word*, who are to watch and mark Seasons, and not to let the People want it in any Case, when they need to be Warned, and Instructed by it. They are to *Preach the Word*, and to be instant in it, in Season, yea, and even out of Season, 2 *Tim. 4. 2*. To see, that none of the Family Starve, or go astray for want thereof, in a trying Time; but that all have what Portion of it they need, in due Season, *Luk. 12. 42*. They are constituted *Pastors and Teachers*, to *Minister the Word*, for perfecting the Saints, and for *Edifying the Body of Christ*: And so are bound to administer it in any Case, where the Saints need to be perfected; or where that Body needs to be repaired thereby; as sure they do, when ill Practices have broken in, and are allowed among them, *Eph. 4. 11, 12*.

It:

*Of the Cases, wherein Faithful Bishops and Ministers,* Part. I.

It is the Work and Profession of *Guides of Souls*, to direct them in all particular Occurrences, and to set them Right in all Cases: And if at any time, they see them about to mistake their Way, to shew them which Path they ought to keep; or, if they see they are gone wrong, to call out to them to come back again. They are such <sup>†</sup>*Guides or Leaders*, as are intrusted with, and *must give an Account of Souls*: And so are strictly bound to see, that they do not stray, nor perish in any Case, for Want of true and careful Guidance and Direction, *Heb. 13. 17.*

So that particular Cases, which are the Times of the Peoples Needs, must be Times of the Pastors Ministrations. Especially such particular Cases, wherein the Generality are like to run into Deadly Sin, and are like to be daily Repeating the same, and, for ought appears, to continue long therein.

And therefore in such Cases, if Immoral Things are not only practised, but justified; the True Pastors are more highly bound to Warn the Church, and to shew the Guilt and Danger thereof. The mere Justification of them in such particular Case, without any further Propositions or False Doctrines about them, is enough to require this Ministration at their Hands. For, when such Immoral Things, are justified; Sin is not only Practised, but it, and Death, are generally recommended. Men are taught then, to <sup>†</sup>*call Evil, Good*; and to embrace Sin, without Remorse or Shame; and to meet Death, without Fear, or Sence of Danger. And what is there left then to restrain them, from Corrupting themselves therewith, according as they are lead thereto, by their own Interests, Ease, or Inclinations; or by the Power, or Perswasions of others? So that Sin, and Death, here Ride Triumphant, and go on without Opposition. And that sure, is a loud Call for the Ministers of Righteousness, to stir up their Ministerial Powers, to put a stop thereto, and to save the Souls they are set to Minister to, from being polluted and destroyed by them. They would be *ill Ministers of the Word*, should they administer no Word, but keep silent; and *ill Watch-Men* for their several Charges, should they give no Warning; *ill Stewards of the House-Hold*, should they make no Provision; *ill Shepherds of the Flocks*, should they neglect to Feed and Minister to them; and *ill Guides of Souls*, should they fail to shew the Way, and to give Directions, how they may avoid both Sin and Death, so fairly and invitingly recommended to them, and so hastily coming upon them, in these Cases.



## C H A P. IV

*More of the Cases, wherein faithful Bishops and Ministers, are bound to stick to their Pastoral Powers and Ministrations.*

**B**UT when Immoral and Unrighteous Practices, are Justified in any particular Case: Since those Practices are literally and directly Condemned by Moral Precepts, they who pretend to Justify them, must find some way to reconcile and take off those Precepts. So that this Justification of Immoral Practices in a particular Case, will be sure to bring on another Step, which will make this Ministration of all true Pastors still more Necessary, and that is,

2. Secondly, *The eluding, or vacating of Moral Duties, and Precepts opposite thereto, by Doctrinal Salvos,*

When Men both act, and justify immoral things, they do not ordinarily renounce the Duties transgressed thereby, under their general and received Names; but start such Doctrines and Principles about them, for Salvos, as elude, or vacate them in Practice.

Thus, the *Jesuits* allow the sinfulness of Lying. But they say, what is Spoken is no Lye, if they can make it a Truth by a *Mental Reservation*; or by the *Equivocalness* and *Ambiguity*, of any Words or Sentences, whereby it is Expressed.

Thus also others admit the Damnableness, of *Resisting the Higher Power*, according to St. *Paul*, or of *Raising Rebellion*. But they say, this is only resisting them, whilst they keep to Laws, and within the Bounds of Legal Powers, and the Frame of the Government; not when they go beyond them. They own, that by the *Fifth Commandment*, and other Scriptural Precepts, Allegiance is due to their Sovereign Prince. But they teach withal, sometimes, as the *Papists*, that it is in the Power of the *Pope*; or, as others, that it is in the power of the People, to depose their Princes, and then they are no longer Sovereigns. And thereby, to Absolve and Discharge themselves, from owing and bearing them any more Allegiance. Which Positions, for *Deposing Princes*, and for *Absolving Subjects from their Allegiance* to them, have passed in the Account of our Laws and Church, for *Damnable Doctrines*. Or else they say, that this Allegiance, is due for the Sake of Pub'ick Good; and



and that whether the Sovereign himself, whose Right it is, Discharge it or no, Publick Good, when it interferes, will give a Discharge thereof. Or again, that it is due, *only on Account of Actual Administration*, and is still to follow the *King in Fact*: And so is no longer Due to their Lawful King, if once another hath Forcibly Dispossessed him.

Further yet, some allow the *Sacredness* and *Obligations of Oaths*, particularly of the *Oath of Allegiance to Princes*. But they teach moreover, sometimes, that all this Sacred Obligation, is only to some *Feigned Softning and lower Senses* of their own, neither suiting with the Nature of things, nor with the Ordinary and Honest Use of Words, and with the Simplicity and plain Dealing of Promises and Solemn Declarations. Nay, nor with their own ensuing Practice and Performance thereof, they, who in Swearing, declared for a lower, afterwards paying and practising an higher Sense; as all will be call'd to do in course of their Obedience, who profess Allegiance to any as their Civil Governours. Or else, that all this Sacred Obligation of the Oath of Allegiance, is in *Subordination to the Antecedent and Superior Obligation of Publick Goods*, and that it will Absolve and Discharge them from it.

Again, they admit the unlawfulness of *Stealing*, or of taking another Man's Goods, or Crown, against the *Eighth*; or of *Covering* them, against the *Tenth Commandment*. But they teach also, which roots up the Foundations of common Honesty and Justice, that if Providence has at any time assisted an Invader to get them from him, the Invader has thereby got a *Providential Right* thereto, which is the best Right; and that after that, they may *lawfully maintain him, in his Violent Possessions*, and may *Innocently keep the other, whom themselves are still to have the Legal Right, out of the Possession of his Right*, yea, and may with a safe Conscience force any Remaining Parts out of his Hands, which he shall Happen to continue still Possessed of.

Lastly, Admitting the ordinary *Wickedness* and *Destructiveness*, of such *Breach of Oaths*, and of open *Injustice*, &c. yet many think all may be salv'd, by the *Maintainance and Preservation of some other Duties* thereby, which are of more worth, as of *Orthodox Faith*, or of *Purity of Gospel-Worship and Divine Service*. Thus the Jews, who Swore by the Name of the Lord, but not in Truth, viz. Swearing Falsly what they never meant nor intended; nor in *Righteousness*, viz. promising to do what was very Unrighteous and Unjust. And yet, as God taxes them by *Isaiah*, they thought to salve all, and would stay themselves upon the God of Israel, by calling themselves of the Holy City, or by retaining God's Temple and true Worship still among them, *Is. 48. 1, 2.*

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Such as these, are the Doctrinal Salvo's, whereby Men, who in the General would continue to own, and to profess Moral Duties and Precepts, do notwithstanding study to reconcile them with some beloved and Justified Practices, which are a literal and down-right Breach thereof.

Now, though for Silencing of their own Consciences, or in Fear of Worldly Shame, in these, and the like Cases, Men still own the Duty in general Words: yet, by these opposite Principles and Doctrinal Salvo's, do they Elude and Vacate them in Practice. That is, under Shelter of these opposite Doctrines, they practice against those Duties, and Justifie themselves therein, as if there were no such Duties to restrain, nor general Words to forbid them.

Under the Doctrinal Salvo's, of *Equivocations* and *Mental Reservations*, for instance, they think themselves true Men, all the time they are telling horrid Lies. And under the aforesaid Doctrinal Limitation, of the *Damnableness* of *Resistance*, to *Legal Affairs* and *Administrations* of *Princes*; they believe themselves good Subjects, whilst they are most wickedly Levying War, and Rebelling against God's Ordinance. Thus likewise, under the Doctrinal Salvo's, of the *Popes*, or *Peoples Power to Depose Kings*, and to *Discharge their Subjects of their Obedience*; of *Alliance being Due, only to a King in Fact*; or whilst the Payment of it makes as they conceive, for the *Publick Good*: may they think themselves Unreprovable in Duty and Loyalty to their Lawful King, though all the while they appear both to God and Man, as if they ought him nothing; yea, tho' both by Prayers and Practice, they openly resist him, and oppose and set themselves against him. And by confining the *Obligation of Oaths of Allegiance*, to their own *Arbitrary Senses*; or, by Cancelling them, by *Antecedent Obligations of Publick Good*: They may Fancy themselves keeping Faith, all the time they are wofully breaking it; and that they are observing Oaths, tho' all the while at their extrem Peril, they are Literally Forswearing themselves. And under Shelter of the aforesaid *Providential Right*, to what an Invader as unjustly got into his Possession: They may take themselves for just and Righteous Persons, whilst all the time they are wickedly and horribly backing Violence and Wrong; and helping one to hold, what they believe and know he hath unjustly got; and keeping the injured and oppressed Person, out of his own. And this is making God's Laws no Effect in Practice, however they may still be owned, in general Names and Acknowledgments; since, in their Actions, Men may do contrary, as Securely and Warrantably, as if there were no such Laws at all. Thus it was, with the Salvo of the *Vow Corban* among the Jews, get clear of the Duty, of *Honouring and supporting Parents*. And

with other Salvo's about Oaths, and other Commandments. And these our Saviour call'd, *making void the Commandments of God through their Doctrinal Traditions*, Mat. 15. 5, 6. and Cap. 23.

And where this is the Case, it must not be said, on the Account of their still Owning and Preaching up the Moral Duties, under their general Names, that *Men have made no Change of Moral Doctrines*. They may have made none, but say the same, as to general Doctrines, viz. that in the General, there lies an Obligation upon Men, to keep *Ea* and Oaths, and to be Obedient and Passive under Governors, and to *Justice to Proprietors*, and the like. And so the Pharisees would in the General own, the *Duty of Supporting Parents*, and those other Duties which they made void in Practice. But these general and abstracted Doctrines, lie further off; and some other Doctrines more circumstantiate give them their proper Limitations, and teach the Obligation thereof, and how far they are Duties in particular Cases, must come between them and the Practice of Men, which lies all in such particular Cases. And in these nearer, and more limited and circumstantiate Doctrines about the foresaid moral Duties, there is a Change, when Men fall to start the foresaid Salvo's. Yea, such a Change, as intercepts all the Force of the General Doctrines, and teaches and authorizes Men, notwithstanding those general Doctrines, to Practice otherwise. And such a Change the Pharisees made, for which they are charged by our Saviour, *for making void God's Laws*; which certainly is to make a woful Change thereof. These salving Doctrines, are all changes of Doctrine; and the Preachers thereof at such times, make as great a change of Moral Doctrines, as is necessary to make a change of Moral Practices. And they may not all Agree, in any one of these Salvo's, or changes of Moral Doctrine; as Men are not so like to do when they are going wrong, the ways of Error being Infinite, tho' the way of Truth is but One. Yet if once they all Agree, not only in following, but in justifying and teaching the Immoral Practices, they must all do it, upon one or other of these new salving Doctrines, which Men, not hardy enough to deny moral Duties under their general Names, must each of them chuse for themselves as they see Cause.

Now, when such changes of Practical Doctrine are introduced, Moral Duties and Precepts are thus eluded and vacated, by Doctrinal Salvo's and Limitations: 'Tis more highly incumbent still, on the Ministers of Christ, to stand up in his Cause, and to administer his Word in Defence thereof. They are Ministers of Religion, and must not let it suffer in any of its Articles, or Duties; but, as its appointed Officers and Advocates, must guard and maintain them. These Articles and Duties, are a Trust divinely committed to them. † *The glorious Gospel*



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was committed to my Trust: And † we are allow'd of God, to be put in † 1 Thes. 2, 4. Trust with the Gospel, saith St. Paul. They are intrusted in their Hands, as things, which they are to keep and hold fast. O! Timothy, keep that which was committed to thy Trust, saith he again, 1 Tim. 6. 20. Hold it fast, and in the Form of sound Words, wherein it was delivered, 2 Tim. 1. 13. He trusts to them, not only to keep and retain them, but to defend and bleed for them. I am set for the Defence of the Gospel, Phil. 1. 17. To take care, that they be transmitted down to others, who shall come next in Succession. The things, that thou hast heard of me, the same commit thou to Faithful Men, who shall be able to Teach others therein, 2 Tim. 2. 2. And having received such Sacred Trusts, they must shew strict Fidelity, in Discharge thereof. St. Paul directs Timothy, to commit them to Faithful Men, 2 Tim. 2. 2. And saith, Christ committed the Gospel to his Trust, and put him into the Ministry of it, counting him Faithful, 1 Tim. 1. 11, 12. And all this Fidelity, is to be the Fidelity of Ministers, who are intrusted, not only with the private Keeping and Profession; but with the publick Ministration of these Articles, and Gospel Duties. So that their Keeping, and holding fast to them; is their Keeping and Holding, to the Preaching, and Ministration of them; and by that same Preaching and Ministration, are they to defend them in the present Age, and to deliver them over to Posterity.

And therefore, when any Moral Duties or Precepts, deposited and intrusted with them, are endanger'd, and Attempts are made to elude or vacate them; They are tryed, how true they will prove to their Trusts, of Ministerial Keeping, and Defending, and transmitting of them down. And then, they must not desert them, but stand up and act for them, by a Faithful Administration. If others treacherously reject them, or bend their Wits to vacate them, and render them of no effect; they must not run in, to give their Voice with them; nor by their uncontestable Silence, and base yielding, betray, and give up that Sacred Depositum, which was intrusted to their Custody and Maintenance.

This ministerial Maintenance and Administration of Moral Precepts, when thus changed and vacated by corrupt Salvo's, God expected from all True Prophets, and Faithful Shepherds among the Jews.

In the Prophet † Jeremiah, we are told of \* False Prophets and Pastors, † chap. 23. who, by such Salvo's, had Poyson'd Peoples Morals. They had cor- \* ver. 1, 9. rupted them in point of Oaths, drawing them generally into Swearing, (or Perjury, as † Cassale, and Arias Montanus, and others,) because of † ad loc. which, as 'tis there said, The Land mourns: And also, in point of Justice, abetting a Course of Evil, (or Violence, as the Margin,) and of Unrighteous Force, Jer. 23. 10. This Corruption of Practice, was by



Corruption of Principles. For they had made them first to believe, that there is no Sin in these their Doings; which they had studied to shelter by Salvo's of their own Invention, from the censure of those Laws, which seemed plainly to forbid them. *They commit Adultery, and walk in Lies*, i. e. in Lying Salvo's, and Adulteration of moral Duties, making the Preservation of *Gods Worship and Temple*, a Shelter for these Vices and Immoralities, as † *Grotius* Notes: And by such Adulterations, they *strengthen the Hands of Evil Doers* in these Ways, *that none of them doth return from his Wickedness*, ver. 14. And these Salvo's, invented from Time to Time, as need was, were not more a Defection from the Truth, than from their own profess'd Principles: The Prophets being taxed therein, for *causing the People to err*, as by *their Lies*, so by their † *Lightness*, ver. 32. But now, when the *False Prophets*, and *unfaithful Shepherds*, set themselves by such corrupt Salvo's, to elude and vacate moral Precepts; God expected of all the True and Faithful Shepherds, that they should stand up against them, for Ministration, and Maintenance thereof. *They should have stood in his Council, and have caused his People to hear his Words, to turn them from their evil ways*, which the False Teachers labour'd to strengthen and encourage them in, by their Lying Salvo's, ver. 22. If any *Prophets* had his Word, he expected they should *speak it Faithfully*, ver. 28. That his Word should be in them like a Fire, bursting out with Violence, and not sparing any that stood in its way, as the False Prophets, those false and flattering Accomodators, were wont to do; *and like an Hammer, that breaks the Rock in Pieces*, striking on the most obdurate, when the other, in their soothing ways, were wont to stroak them, ver. 29.

In *Ezekiel*, God complains of the *False Prophets*, for *Daubing* and *Immoral Practices with untamper'd Mortar*, i. e. with corrupt Salvo's, to cover them from the Censure and Condemnation of moral Precepts. *Ezek. 13. 10, 11. &c.* Their *Daubing*, was by such Covers, or Plasters, as were *Visions of Peace*; or to shew the Evil-Doers, how they did not break with God, and moral Duties, by these their immoral Practices, ver. 15, 16. This he also calls, *making Kerchiefs or Vails*, their end being to hide all Appearance of Sin and Deformity in these Actings; and saith, *they sited them to every Statute*, ver. 18, 21. And by these *Lies*, or Lying Salvo's, they made Men believe, that there was no Breach of moral Precepts in these immoral Practices, nor any Danger of Death thereby; and so *strengthened the Hands of the Wicked, that he should not return from his wicked Way, by promising him Life* though he went on therein, ver. 22. But if any true Prophets, who saw this, should keep silence; or, out of selfish Subtlety, should Skulk, and keep out of those Dangers, which attend the ministerial Reproof thereof as

† in ver. 10.  
and ver. 14.

† See Zeph.  
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such Times: God brands them, as being like Foxes in the Desert, for not having gone up into the Gaps or Breaches to repair them, and for not having made up the Hedge for the House of Israel, by fencing it again with sound Doctrine, and with the Conscience of moral Duties, to keep out all further Eruption of such immoral Practices, ver. 4, 5. And elsewhere by the same Prophet, he denounces woes to them, and declares he will require his Flock at their Hands, if, instead of Feeding only themselves, they do not, as becomes good Shepherds, Feed their Flocks; and that, by the due exercise of their Ministrations, for Strengthening the Diseased, or for Healing the Sick, or for Reducing the Scatter'd, or Recovering the Lost, as the needs of the Flock shall require, Ezek. 34. 2, 3, 4, 10.

The Priests, saith Zephaniah, have done Violence to the Law, forcing it with corrupt Glosses and Expositions, to bear with immoral and unlawful Practices. Zeph. 3. 4. They have violated my Law, or, as the Margin from the Hebrew, offered Violence to it, i. e. stopp'd its Mouth by Wicked Salvo's, not suffering it to condemn those evil Deeds, against which it is design'd, saith God by Ezekiel, Ezek. 22. 26. These corrupt Salvo's, and doctrinal Perversions of Gods Laws, are grievously complained of by the Holy Prophets, and still grew up among the Jews, to perfect the Wickedness, and to hasten on the Ruin of that Church. But whensoever these Attempts were made by False Prophets and Seducers, to pervert the Laws of God; it was incumbent on his true Ministers, to oppose them therein, and to Minister those Laws and Duties to the People in their true meaning. And they still incur the Censure, of † Shepherds that Feed not the Flock, but themselves, † Ezek. 34. 2, 3. of † Blind VVatch-Men, and Dumb Dogs; if they are silent, and sit still on such Occasions. † If. 56. 10.

The like, our Saviour Christ also expected from his Disciples, when they found such Salvo's advanced, for Practices against any of his Commandments.

The Pharisees, had invented many doctrinal Salvo's, to justify Men in the Breach of moral Duties, and to vacate several of Gods Holy Commandments. Thus they dealt, by the Branch of Oaths; which they cleared by several arbitrary Limitations, and nice Distinctions of their own, about the Obligation of them, or Mens becoming Debtors, i. e. bound by them, Mar. 23. 16, 18. And by the Denial of Relief, or Help to Parents; which they said was discharged of the Obligation laid by the Fifth Commandment, and free from Sin, if it was salved by the Vow Corban, i. e. if they had made a Vow before, that they would never Relieve them, Mar. 15. 4, 5, 6. Thus Frustrating the Commandments of God, as he tells them, and making them of none effect, † See Dr. Lightfoot's Hor. Heb. in loc.

*Of the Cases, wherein Faithful Bishops and Ministers, Part. I.*  
*through their undermining Salvo's and Traditions, Mat. 15. 6. and*  
*Mark 7. 9, 13. Not to mention, their Limiting the Obligation of*  
*all Righteousness, to external Acts; or other ways, of their exempting*  
*many Offences, forbid by their own Law, as well as by that of the*  
*Blessed Jesus.*

But when the *Ministers of Christ* met with these Salvo's, it was their  
 Part, not to suffer them, but to rescue moral Precepts from being cor-  
 rupted, and Mens Consciences and Practices from being insinared by  
 them. They were to † *beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees*, in these,  
 and other Points: not only, as private Christians, to beware of imbibing  
 it themselves; but, as Pastors, of suffering others to be tainted, or cor-  
 rupted therewith. When by these, and such like Glosses, † *the Law-  
 yers had taken away the Key of Knowledge*, and \* *soured up the Kingdom of*  
 † *Mat. 16. 6,* *Heaven against Men*, as our Lord saith; they, as Ministers of that  
 † *Luk. 11.* *Kingdom*, were to unlock and open it to them, and to make these  
 † *52.* *Duties*, which were the Paths thereof, plane for all, who were sincerely  
 \* *Mat. 23.* *desirous to walk in them.* They that are made *Pastors*, and put in Sta-  
 † *13. vid. Chry-* *tion to be Great in the Kingdom of Heaven*, must both *do* the same them-  
 † *sost. in loc. &* *selves; and teach others to observe, even the least of Christ's Commandments,*  
 † *Comment. in.* *when others not only transgress them in their own Practice, but teach Men*  
 † *certi Authoris* *to transgress them, Mat. 15. 19.*  
 † *ap. Chrysost.*  
 † *in loc.*

St. Paul afterwards speaks of *False Apostles, who corrupted the Word*  
 of God. *Καμψύοντες*, that adulterated it, as *Vintners do their Vines,*  
 by corrupt Mixtures, blending their own Arbitrary Salvo's and Con-  
 ceits therewith, or *Mixing their own Doctrines with Gods*, as St. \* *Chry-*  
 † *in loc.* *sostom* comments. 2 Cor. 2. 17. Who handled the *Word of God*  
 deceitfully. 2. Cor. 4. 2. And spoke *Lies in Hypocrisie*, pretending them  
 consistent with, or sometimes promotive of Duty and Piety. 1 Tim. 4.  
 2. And perverted the *Gospel of Christ*, Gal. 1. 17. But when the true  
 Ministers met with any of these corrupt Infusions, and Adulterations  
 of Christian Doctrines; instead of Treacherously conniving at these A-  
 dulterations, they were, by a purer and more sincere Ministration, to  
 cure and teach Men better. They were to make full Proof of their Mi-  
 nistry in Preaching the *Word*; and to reprove, and rebuke all that was  
 contrary to it, among those that would heap to themselves Teachers of  
 Errors and Adulterations of the Truth, according to their own Lusts,  
 2 Tim. 4. 2, 3, 5. When others fell to speak *Lies in Hypocrisie*, they  
 were not to neglect the Gift that was in them, that is, their Pastoral Pow-  
 er and Function; but to † *fix it up*, and put the Brethren in Remembrance  
 of the pure and saving Christian Truths and Duties, that they may dis-  
 charge the part of Good Ministers of Jesus Christ, 1 Tim. 4. 2. 6.  
 14. When *Vain Talkers and Deceivers started up, Teaching Things they*  
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ought not, for Fillyby Lucres sake; they were call'd upon, not only to hold fast the Faithful Word, as they had been taught, and to keep to it themselves; but also, by Sound Doctrine, to exhort and teach others, † *Act* 20: and to convince, and stop the Mouths of Gain-Sayers, Tit. 1. 9. 10. 11. 28, 30, 31.

Thus are the Faithful Ministers of Christ obliged, to Feed the Church with the pure Administration of Moral, or other Gospel Duties; when the False Guides, by doctrinal Salvo's, and undermining Propositions, are shewing Men, how they may securely Vacate and Transgress them. They are not to connive at such Corruptions, and Adulterations of moral Precepts; but to cry out, and warn against them; Not to smother, and keep up the real and injured Duties; but to Preach and Minister them out to those Souls, who are like to perish through their Ignorance, and Breach thereof. And this, as they will answer Gods repeated Calls and Injunctions, or approve themselves True and Faithful to their Ministerial Trusts. To neglect it, or fail therein, would be Treachery and Falseness to that Sacred Doctrine, which had been deposited with them; and to those Souls, which had been committed to them.

And this Ministration they are bound to, tho' these corrupt Salvo's are only the *Doctrines of the Pastors and Teachers*, (as those formentioned Salvo's of the *False Prophets*, and of the *Pharisees* too, I suppose, were among the *Jews*;) and are not yet made the Determinations of the Church. 'Tis not enough, on such Justification of Immoral Practices, or advancement of Immoral Salvo's by the Guides of Souls, to say, the Church hath not altered its Articles, nor justified nor salved the ill things so, by any *Synodical Confession*. For 'tis a call to them for their Ministration, if these things are done by the Churchmen. Their Ministration, is to provide against the dangers of Souls. And they are always endangered by damnable Practices, whosoever teach them, whether their particular Guides, or whole Synods. But particular Guides, are the Directors, which the generality of Men have for their Consciences and Practices. So that the Consciences and Practices of the generality are endangered, when they fall generally to teach them the Breach of Moral Duties by corrupt Salvo's. And then, true Guides are to warn them of these Dangers. *When Speakers of perverse things shall arise from among themselves, the Pastors are bid to take heed to their Flocks, and to feed them with the Word of Truth and Righteousness, Act. 20. 28, 30.*

And instead of abating this Obligation, it will add to it, If, amidst all this Prevarication of the Church Men by such corrupt Salvo's, the Church it self continues right in these Points, and says the same it did in its publick Acts and Articles. For then, in these Ministrations, those Faithful Pastors have, as the Authority of Truth, so also the Authority of their



their own Church on their Side. Therein, they only minister out among the Members, what their own Church teaches: and show themselves, as *Faithful Ministers of Christ*, in standing up for his Truths; So *Faithful Ministers of their own Church*, in standing up for its Doctrines. As to the Point of separation from the Church; I Grant that true Ministers must not separate from a Church for any Doctrines, if the Church it self holds and maintains them, tho' the Churchmen should generally and shamefully defect from them. But this Ministration of those deserted Doctrines is not to separate from it, but to stick Firm and Constant to it; yea, and to keep it up still as a Visible Body, for all its true Members to Adhere to. And I hope true and faithful Ministers of a Church, may stand by it, in maintenance and ministration of the Truths and Laws of God; tho' that continue on a Breach, and keep them at a distance from those Revolting Pastors, who have defected and separated themselves from both.

The fore-said Justification of Immoral Practices in such particular Cases, and maintenance thereof by Doctrinal Salvos, will make the Consciences of Transgressors, Easy and in Rest at Sin. They will by this Means, see no Breach of Duty in what they do, nor danger of Punishment for doing it. They are taught in these Cases, *to call Evil Good, and to put Darkness for Lights*, whereto such Heavy Woes are † denounced by the Prophet: and so, under the greatest Load and Danger, of Sin and Guilt, think themselves Safe and Innocent. This † *God calls, † Speaking Peace to the wicked*, or to those, *who should have in Peace*, but Terror and Indignation in their present Evil Ways. And † *Sowing Pillows*, to bolster up Evil Doers, to make them Easy and at Rest in their Unrighteousness. And † *Strengthening the Hands of the Wicked*, making them bold and forward in their Ungodly Courses; and † *barring their Repentance and Return from their Wickedness*, by leaving in them no Conscience of Guilt, no Relentings or Remorse, for their going on therein.

Now all this, is a direct Ministration to destroy Souls. And whilst *False Prophets*, and *Devouring Wolves*, are ministring Lies for their Destruction; it is evidently and highly Incumbent on true and faithful Pastors, who are set to *Save Souls*, to minister the word of Truth for their Salvation. Accordingly, amidst all these *Preachers of Peace* and *Strengtheners of Evil Doers*, God † tells the *Prophets of Israel*, that they should not, like *Subtile Foxes*, have studied only how to slip aside, and shun danger by silently Conniving at these Doings: But *ought to have gone up into the Gaps, and have made up the Hedges*. Seeing they were publick Ministers, deputed by God to act for him, and for the good of Souls; their part had been † *to stand in his Counsel, and to have*

† Is. 5. 20.

† Jer. 6. 14. *God calls, † Speaking Peace to the wicked*, or to those, *who should have in*  
and C. 8. 11. *Peace*, but Terror and Indignation in their present Evil Ways. And  
Ez. 13. 10. *\* Sowing Pillows*, to bolster up Evil Doers, to make them Easy and at  
Ezek. 13. 13. *Rest in their Unrighteousness*. And † *Strengthening the Hands of the*  
18. 20. *Wicked*, making them bold and forward in their Ungodly Courses;  
† Jer. 23. 14. *and barring their Repentance and Return from their Wickedness*, by  
Ezek. 13. 23. *leaving in them no Conscience of Guilt, no Relentings or Remorse,*

† Ezek. 13.  
41. 5.

† Jer. 23. 22.

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*caused his People to hear his Words, and thereby to have turned them from the Evil of their Doings.* When the People run thus, to do Evil in such Cases, without any Sence of Guilt, or by calling Evil Good; they heap Sin, and Death to themselves, and know it not, and so Perish for want of Knowledge. But the Priests Lips must keep up Knowledge among the People, and they must have the Knowledge of the Law at his Mouth, Mal. 2. 7. *And if my People are destroyed, for lack of Knowledge; because you have rejected Knowledge, and the Communication thereof to my people, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no Priest to me, saith the Lord, God of Israel.* Hof. 4. 6.

Such is the Obligation incumbent on true Pastors, to Minister Moral Truths, when immoral Practises are justified in particular Cases, and all the moral Duties opposite thereto, are vacated and taken off, by undermining Propositions, and Doctrinal Salvo's.

And they are still more strictly obliged to this Ministration, if the Practises justified by such Salvo's, are

1. *In immoralities of Great, and general ill Fame, and in things extremely Scandalous to Religion.*

All gross Violations, of common Honesty and Justice; and Breach of Faith, especially when confirmed by *Solemn Oaths*; and renouncing of Duty and Subjection to Superiours, more particularly to Parents and Princes; and such others; are immoralities, that all Sober Men think they ought to account Scandalous, and of highest Reproach. For the Duties transgressed thereby, are generally known to be of greatest Importance, for keeping up Society, and for securing the Comforts of humane Life: Which therefore all Mankind, that feel such need of Society, and would find Comfort in Life, cry up, and utterly deery the Breaches of them. So that these Immoralities, are sure to bring the most general Infamy upon any thing that is Guilty of them; yea, and upon Religion itself, should it ever be found, or represented, as allowing, or giving countenance thereto.

Now the Ministers of Religion, are to be especially careful, to preserve its good Name, and to keep up an honourable Opinion and Reverence for it among Men. He has nothing of the Ministerial Care, or a Ministerial Spirit, who is careless and unconcern'd, how ill, and irreverently Men think of Religion. Indeed, if they would keep Religion it self up in the World, they must keep up this Reverence, and good Opinion of it. For if once Mankind come to think ill, or despicable of it, they are never like to trouble themselves much therewith, nor to Labour after much thereof. And if they would preserve Religion reputable, and secure of Mens Reverence, and honourable Opinion; they must watchfully keep all those things out of it, which deservedly

loose and lessen Mens good Opinion. They must have a jealous Care to preserve it pure, not admitting, or justifying any thing, that, in the common Sense of Mankind, is Infamous, or of bad Name. And therefore, if any such things, (as all the foremention'd immoralities are, in an High-Degree,) offer to creep in, or if *Satans* Ministers are Bused to introduce them; they must Oppose, and Minister against them with all their Might, and presently disclaim and purge them out, that Religion may be clear of them. They must Watch, as far as they are able, to keep them out of the Practice of Men; least from such Practice of its Professors, the Lookers on should Harbour a Presumption or Supposition, as if Religion had some Toleration or Allowance for them.

† 1 Tim. 6. 1. † Let Servants count their own Masters worthy of all Honour;

\* Tit. 2. 4, 5. \* Let Wives be keepers at Home, and obedient to their own Husbands,

1 Tim. 5. 14. that the Word of God, and his Doctrine, be not Blasphemed, saith St. Paul directing Timothy and Titus, in that Pastoral and Ministerial Care, which they should have of the Church. But when these ill and infamous things appear, not only in Practice, but in Doctrines; and come, not as the blamed and prevaricating Acts of Professors, but as Justified and Preached up by their Guides and Leaders: Then Religion is more directly and plainly brought in, and the true Ministers thereof are more highly obliged to oppose them in its behalf, to prevent its incurring any Scandal or Reproach thereby.

Or,

2, If they are generally Preached up by Seducers, and Men are every where Taught, and persuaded to them. Instead of giving any Discharge, those few Faithful Ministers that remain; at such times, the general falling away and Corruption of others, adds to their Obligation to God, and these moral Truths then, have more need of their Ministry. And they can have no Pretence left, of putting off this Service to other Ministers, since they in effect Preach them down, and there is no Appearance of their being faithfully administered at all, if not to them. So that, what ministerial Trusts they undertook, or † Promised they made, of being ready with all Faithful Diligence, to drive away such erroneous Doctrine, are more pressing upon them, since then they rest on their Fidelity alone. And this will be to answer the Apostles Rules, of taking heed to all their Flocks; when the Speakers of Persecutions arise, to draw away Disciples after them, Act. 20. 28, 30. standing up against Deceivers; that Teach things which they ought not, and of Exhorting, and Convincing, and Stopping the Mouths of Gain-Sayers Tit. 1. 9, 10, 11. Of making full Proof of their Ministry, when they have Teachers after their own Lusts; yea, will not bear sound Doctrine but heap up such to themselves, having Itching Ears, 2 Tim. 4. 3.

† Form of Ordination.



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Or, *as the Lord is bound to his People, so the People are bound to their Pastors.*

3. If they come recommended by Suitableness, to Worldly and Carnal Passions and Interests, which, when once these Salvo's have reconciled them to Mens Consciences, will be sure to gain innumerable Followers. especially, if the Scrupulous and Unwilling are driven into them, by Force and general Persecution.

This Case of Persecution, I grant, is an outward Discouragement to true Pastors, from Performing this Ministration, because it will be sure to be hottest against them. And it will be an Hindrance too, from their Discharging it so fully, and generally, as they might do in a free and quiet Time. If Meetings then, are Fixt, and of free Recourse, and open, and Numerous, they will miss of their End, and the Effect will only be, to be disturbed, and carried before Magistrates, not to sit on in Prayers and Devotions. Assemblies to partake in these Ministrations, cannot be so regular, and constant to Times and Places, so free, and full of Communicants; and so easie and accessible to all those Members, who desire, and stand in need thereof; when the Church is daily disturbed, and persecuted, and driven into the Wilderness, as they may in Times of Peace and external Allowance. And thus, in the First Persecutions, the Disciples assembled in the Evening, and were careful to keep the Doors shut, for Fear of the Jews, Jo. 20. 19, 26.

And St. Pauls Meeting on the First Day of the Week at Troas, was held in an upper Chamber, and in the Night-Time, his Sermon being continued until Mid-Night, Act. 20. 7, 8, 9, &c. And Pliny's Account to the Emperor Trajan, of the Christians Meetings in that Persecution, is, that \* on their Festal times, their manner was to Meet together before Day, for their Solemn Worship and Sacraments.

But so far as they can Minister the Word of moral Truths against them, in a persecuted and dispersed State, and in such sort as that will admit of; they have more Obligation to this Ministration, by reason of the Persecution. It makes the difficulty of this Ministration, to be the more; but the Duty of it to be never the less, but the straighter likewise. For, the more others Persecute moral Duties, and good Practice; the more need there is for the Ministers thereof, to stand up for them. And the more any Faithful Souls, are persecuted for them; the more need there is for the Guides of Souls, and the more Obligation lies on them, by the best Ministrations they can, to instruct and strengthen them therein. They are then to Minister the Word, not only to confirm them in their good Practices; but also, to support and comfort them under their hard Sufferings, and to assist and arm them at all Points against their Persecutors and Spiritual Enemies, that by Faith and Fortitude, Pati-

† Act. 12. 12.

\* Quod essent soliti fuisse dicere ante Lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo dicere secum invicem. Plin. Epist. l. 10. Ep. 97, p. 306.



ence and Charity, they may bravely repel all their Assaults, and gloriously Triumph over them.

Thus God blames the Shepherds of Israel, because, when the Flocks were Scatter'd, none did search or seek after them; when any were driven away, none sought to bring them back again, nor to Strengthen what was Diseased, nor to bind up what was broken among them, Ezek. 34. 4, 5, 6. And when the Wolf is coming, to break in among the Sheep, and to tear and scatter them, i. e. When some cruel and imminent Persecution is before them: If a Pastor doth not stick by them then, and Minister as shew his Pastoral Care the best he can; but leaves them to themselves and looks only how he may secure his own Person; our Blessed Lord tells us, he is no true Shepherd, as being destitute of the Pastoral Care and Spirit, but an Hireling, Jo. 10. 12. And St. Paul bids Timothy stir up the Gift that was in him, by the Laying on of his Hands, and not to be hindered, or discouraged from it, by the Persecutions of that Time: for that the Holy Ghost, conferr'd by God upon his Ministers by such Imposition of Hands, is not the Spirit of Fear, or Cowardice, whose Ministrations are to be stop'd by Approach of Dangers; but the Spirit of Power or Courage, and of Love to Him and his Church, when thereby we expose our own Persons, 2 Tim. 1. 6, 7. Seeing we have, or stand charged with this Ministry, though Troubled, Perplexed, and Persecuted on every side, in the due Discharge thereof, we faint not, saith he, 2 Cor. 4. 1, 8, 9. But approve our selves the Ministers of God, by the Word of Truth, and by the Armor of Righteousness on the Right-Hand, and on the Left, in all Patience, and Afflictions, and in the midst of Tumults, of Stripes, and Imprisonments, 2 Cor. 6. 4, 5, 7.

## C H A P. V

*Of the Obligations to Actual Ministration, which lie upon them in the foresaid Cases.*

**H**itherto, I have insisted on those Cases, wherein true and faithful Pastors and Ministers of *Jesus Christ*, are plainly bound, as I conceive, to stir up those Spiritual Powers, which he hath conferred on them; and to act Ministerially as Bishops and Pastors, for supplying the needs of Religion and of Souls, or of the Churches which are intrusted to their Charge.

And the Sum of what I have said thereupon, is this. They are bound to supply the Church, with the *Ministration of Prayers*, or of pure and unpoluted Offices, when the publick Service is corrupted, and Prayers are poyson'd, not only with Idolatrous, but also with Unrighteous and Immoral Mixtures. And with *the Ministry of the Word*, when they see Dangerous and Immoral Practices are begun to be set up. And more still, when they are offer'd to be Justified. Being obliged to this, when Immoral Practices are justified in some great and particular Cases, which are like to involve the generality of Persons. And higher obliged yet, when, for Justification of the same in such particular Cases, False Teachers set themselves to vacate all the opposite Moral Duties, by Undermining Propositions and Doctrinal Salvo's. All which still call louder for this Ministration, if the immoral Practices so justified, and Doctrinally Salv'd, are in themselves Infamous, and a Scandal to Religion; or, if they have numbers of Seducers and False Guides, to recommend or perswade them; or, if they are press'd and forced upon all Refusers, by a secular Arm, and driven on by a violent and general Persecution. When the Breach is so great upon Religion, and the Danger is so terrible to the Souls of Men, and is like to make a general Wast, and to seize and destroy such Numbers of them: True Ministers of Religion, and Guides of Souls, ought not to be Silent, and sit still, under such Wrongs done to both. But are bound, <sup>not to</sup> Neglect the Gift that is in them, by the laying on of Hands, 1. Tim. 4.

14. but to stir it up, and that out of a Spirit of Love to Religion and the Church, and of Power or Courage without fear of Dangers, as observed from St. Paul, 2 Tim. 1. 6, 7. To give Attendance to it, waiting on their Ministry, Rom. 12. 7. Not to be content merely to accept Seasons, as put upon them; but to seek them, Preaching the Word, and being instant, in Season, and out of Season. 2 Tim. 4. 2. To give themselves wholly to these things, and to persevere and continue in performing them, that in so doing, they may both save themselves, and those that hear them, 1 Tim. 4. 15, 16.

But further to set off this Obligation, having said thus much to the Cases wherein they stand bound, I shall now proceed.

2. Secondly, To Note, what Obligations of Actual Ministration, do lie upon them in such Cases. And these Obligations will appear, both from the Nature of the Pastoral Function, from the several Characters which they sustain, and from the Post or Station which they are placed in.

These Characters I shall consider, under this Threefold Respect, either as they relate to God, to Religion, or to the Souls of Men.

1. First, I shall consider them, as they relate to God. And here this Obligation to the foresaid Ministrations, in the preceding and such like Cases, will appear plain upon them, as they bear the Character, and stand in Place,

1. Of his Messengers. The Priest is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts, Mal. 2. 7. And St. Paul says, The Galatians received him, as an Angel or Messenger of God; Gal. 4. 14. And the Bishops of the Churches, are styled Angels, Rev. 1. 20. Now, when a polluted and immoral Worship is offered up to God, or when Immoral Practices are set up, and the plain Sense of Moral Precepts is perverted or vacated to maintain them, God hath enough to say to Men, both for Caution and Prevention, and also for their Recovery from the same. And who shall tell them this, but his own Messengers? And how should they tell it, but in the discharge of their Ministrations? So that by their Ministry, they must shew them the horrible Prophanation of an Immoral Devotion, and teach and afford them a pure Worship, which is according to his Mind. And declare to them the true force and Meaning of those Moral Laws and Duties, which others have Doctrinally Gloss'd away and vacated, to the end they may warrantably and securely Transgress them. As the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts, his Lips ought to keep up Knowledge among the People, and they are to seek the Law, i. e. the true Sense of it, as Grocius and others note, at his Mouth, Mal. 2. 7. So that he is Ministerially to open his Mouth, not to shut it; to minister Knowledge, not to open it up and suppress it within himself; It being the Part of an ill and unfaithful Messenger, to Seal up his Lips, and conceal the Message which he is charged with.

† ad loc.  
O. 18.

† ad loc.

Chap. 5.

2. Of his Messengers, of his King, Negotiate particular the Covenant of Man so as 1. Cor. 4. 14. Agents of have the between Gods, wh Rom. 15 Agents, to do his Earth, v stand in dors, wh Speaking you by us Christ's according 4. 14. a son of him in Place, Turn; Residents to time No present these in the For tially do all Ministr Mastre Busine are p nefs

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Chap. 5. which lie upon them in the foresaid Cases.

2. Of his Ministers and Ambassadors. They are not, as inferior Messengers, employed only to bear and tell a Message; but as Ministers of his Kingdom, they are Messengers impower'd, and authorized, to Negotiate and Transact for God. And this, not only in some particular thing; but at large, in all the outward Administration of the Covenant of Grace, or of Reconciliation between God and Man. Let a Man so account of us, says St. Paul, as of ὑμῶν τας the Officers of Christ, 1 Cor. 4. 1. as of δακτύλων, Ministers by whom ye believed, 1 Cor. 3. 5. as of πρεσβυτέρων, the Ambassadors, 2 Cor. 5. 20. as of λειτουργῶν, the Publick Agents of Jesus Christ, Rom. 15. 16. as of such Ambassadors, who have the Ministry, τὴν διακονίαν, the Administration of Reconciliation between God and sinful Men, 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. and as of such Publick Agents, who are impower'd and intrusted to Administer the Gospel of God, Rom. 15. 16. Nay, being thus impower'd as God's Ministers, Publick Agents, and Ambassadors: They are not only as his Servants, who are to do his Business; but as his visible Representatives and Vice-Gerents here on Earth, who in all these concerns, are to sustain his Person, and to stand in his Place. This is the Part of publick Agents and Ambassadors, who Sustain the Person, and supply the presence of their Masters. Speaking to you as God's Ambassadors, God bespeaks you, and beseeches you by us; and praying you, as Ambassadors of Christ, we pray you in Christ's Stead, says St. Paul to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. 5. 20. And accordingly the Galatians, he says, received him as Christ Jesus, Gal. 4. 14. and in his Ministerial Actions, he declares he Acted in the Person of Christ, 2 Cor. 2. 10. And they are sent thus to transact for him in all these Administrations, and to Sustain and Supply his Place, not only at some one Time, or on some particular and occasional Turn; but with standing Powers, as his Ambassadors in Ordinary, or Residentiaries here on Earth, who are to do the same still from time to time, as there is Occasion.

Now, Standing thus, as his Ordinary Ministers, and Publick Representatives, who are to act Gods Part, and to supply his Place in these Matters; they must be bound to their actual Administrations, in the foresaid Cases.

For being to act in those Cases, and in all others which providentially come before them, as Gods Ministers and Officers; they ought to do all therein, that is needful for Gods Business. They are unfaithful Ministers, if they do not appear, and concern themselves in their Master's Affairs, and so far as their Powers will go, prosecute his Business who employs and intrusts them. And when sinful Prayers are presented to him, in his Solemn and publick Worship; his Business is to have them purged out, and to have more pure and unpolluted



luted Prayers put up to him in their Room. When Immoral Practices are justified, his Business is to have them generally Disclaimed and Condemned. When moral Precepts are Gloss'd away, and vacated his Concern, is to have them faithfully expounded and maintain'd. That, if they must officiate, and act in Prosecution of his Business, they must Officiate, and Minister in Prosecution of these things. And they throw off the Part, and work of his Ministers, if they will have no care of his Matters, nor afford him their Ministrations at such Times.

As Gods publick Agents, and Ordinary Ambassadors, their Instructions are to preserve the things of God safe. Then, they must see to guard his Worship from Sinful and Polluted Mixtures; and his Laws from eluding Glosses, and undermining Salvo's; and the Practices of his People, from damnable Unrighteousness and Immoralities. And what sort of Agents would they shew themselves, should they refuse to Minister, and Act for him; what trusty Ambassadors, should they fail to pursue their Instructions, when all these Wrongs and Violences are offer'd to his Affairs, and are attempted to be obtruded upon his Worship, his Precepts, and his People, at such times?

† 2 Cor. 5.  
18, 19, 20.

As his Ambassadors, they are Ambassadors for Peace, and carry † the Word of Reconciliation, to a People that has offended him. And when God, and any People are at Enmity, by reason of the forefaid Worship and Practices; would they approve themselves fit to be intrusted with this Ambassage of Peace, or to be Faithful in the Discharge thereof, who should not so much as tell the Offenders, that God and they are at Difference; nor minister and propose from him, the true Terms of making up the Breach. By failing to Minister this Word, when they are sent on purpose with it, and have undertaken the † Administration of it; would they not prove themselves down-right Enemies, and basely Treacherous and False to both? And is any Failure or Falshood, more Fatal, as well as more inexcusable, than theirs would be in this Case?

† 1 Tim. 2.  
15, 18.

As Christ's Representatives, and as Sustaining his Person and Place, they are to say what he would say to any Offenders, and to act as he would act in these Cases; were he visibly to appear, and immediately to manage and administer his own Affairs. They must come into Christ's Care and Administration, when they come to sustain his Person. For his Part on Earth, as he declares, was to † Minister to his Church. Representing him, they must endeavour, as they can, to supply the want of his Presence; and that must be, by affording Religion, and his People, what Ministrations he would afford to them, were he among them. And this must imply the forefaid Exercise of their Spiritual Ministrations

† Mat. 20.  
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Chap. 5. *which lie upon them in the foresaid Cases.*

Part. Ministries, in the above-mention'd Cases. For, were he on Earth  
at such Times, he would surely see no want of these Ministrations, to  
preserve, or rescue, his Worship from being polluted, his Laws from  
being vacated, and the Practice of his People from such Ways of Sin  
and Death, as are then offer'd to be obtruded on them. To Minister  
against all these, was his Business when he was upon the Earth; and  
would be so, were he to appear again: And ought to be the Business  
of all, that represent and appear for him. If they neglect the Ministry,  
and Care of these things, and let them alone; what other Ministries are  
there left then, for them to represent this great *† Minister of God*, and *†* *Mat. 20. 28.*  
*Bishops of our Souls* in? If then they do not Minister his Word to the *Rom. 15. 8.*  
Church, *in his Name*, what becomes of the Communication, which *\* 1 Pet. 2. 25.*  
they are to keep up between his Church and Him? For he is to speak  
to them by his Representatives, and says, *he that hears them, hears him*,  
Luk. 10. 16. And if his Representatives are silent at such Times, and  
say nothing from Him; that, instead of faithfully Maintaining, is to drop,  
and make an end of this way of Communication.

Thus doth their very Office and Station, of being *Gods Ordinary* and  
*Standing Ministers*, and *Publick Agents*, and *Ambassadors*, and *Repre-*  
*sentatives*; oblige them to *actual Administrations* in the foresaid Cases.  
Their Office, lies in supplying such Administrations, which are the Trust  
they have receiv'd from *Christ*, and the Business which they are set  
for. *He hath committed to us the Administration of this Reconciliation*,  
saith St. Paul, 2 Cor. 5. 18. This faithful supply of such Administra-  
tions, is call'd, *fulfilling their Ministry*, as in St. Pauls Caution to Archippus.  
Col. 4. 17. For to intrust his things with them, as *Ministers*, or *A-*  
*gents*; is to trust that they will act therein, and Administer the same  
unto his People. Accordingly they, who have received a Ministry, are  
required to wait on their Administration, Ro. 12. 6, 7. Or, every Man,  
as he hath received the Gift of Preaching, or Ministry, &c. even so to Mi-  
nister the same one to another, as good Stewards of the *Manifold Grace* of  
God, 1 Pet. 4. 10, 11. Thus also they are call'd to Preach the Word,  
and Discharge these Ministrations, against Teachers Preaching to please  
*Mens Lusts*, and against People heaping up such Teachers to themselves,  
that they may thereby fulfil, or make full Proof of their Ministry, 2 Tim.  
4. 2, 3, 5. And are bid, not to neglect the Gift that is in them, by Imposi-  
tion of Hands, but to be the Peoples Monitors, against the Speakers of Lies  
in Hypocrisie, that they may be good Ministers of Jesus Christ, 1 Tim. 4.  
2, 6, 14. And to approve themselves, as the Ministers of God, by the  
Word of Truth, and by the Armor of Righteousness, in the midst of Afflictions  
and Persecutions, 2 Cor 6. 4, 5, 7. Their Administration, must from  
Time to Time keep up, what God would have kept up, both in his

Peoples Practice, and in Doctrine, in Worship, and Devotion. *They shall Teach my People the Difference, between the Holy and Profane; and shall cause them to discern, between the Unclean and the Clean. And they shall keep my Laws, and my Statutes, in all mine Assemblies; or, see that all things be done in those Assemblies, according to them,* as † Theodoret compounds it, Ezek. 44. 23, 24.

† in loc.

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3. Of his Fellow-workers, or Co-adjutors. *We, as Workers together with God, beseech you,* saith St. Paul, 2 Cor. 6. 1. *We are † Labourers together with God, the chief Worker. And ye are Gods Husbandry,* whom as Co-labourers, we Cultivate, Planting what is Profitable, and Rooting out every hurtful Weed. *Ye are Gods Building,* which we, as Workmen together with him, are Spiritually to Rear and Build up, or to Repair the same when any part thereof is Broken down, 1 Cor. 3. 9.

Now, when any such Breaches are made, upon the Worship, or the Laws of God, and upon the Practice of his People in all the foresaid Cases, God is sure to be at Work with Men. His Providence, outwardly throws in Hindrances, and awakening Alarms; and his Holy Spirit, is inwardly Busie in their Hearts, by raising Holy Thoughts and Suggestions, to prevent the fall of some, and to recover and raise up others who are already fallen, and to set, both the Celebration of his own Worship, and the Sense of his Precepts, and the Practice of his People, at Rights again. And whilst he is thus Working and plying them, both with inward Motions, and with outward Accidents or Occurrences, his Ministers, as Fellow-workers, should joyn their Ministration to carry on the same Work in them. And how are they Fellow-labourers, if at such times, whilst he holds on Labouring, they give it off? How are they true to the part of Co-workers, if they withdraw their Ministrations, and leave and let him alone to do all the Work himself?

They are also said to be *Co-workers with him of the Peoples Joy or Consolation*, 2 Cor. 1. 24. This Joy can be had only in the Way of Holiness, not of polluted Prayers; and of Maintaining, not of vacating Gods Precepts; and of humbly and industriously Seeking, to approve themselves to God by Good; not of justifying themselves, in Unrighteous and Wicked Practices. For in those Ways, they have nothing to do with Joy; but remorse, and Shame, and Sorrow are their Portion. So that if the true Pastors, are to be Ministers and Co-workers of their Joy and Consolation, they must Minister and Co-work at such Times, to keep up pure Worship, and pure Precepts and Practices among them: because else, they would not have what they may justly Rejoyce and take Comfort in.

Again, the Ministerial Characters, may be considered.

2. Secondly,



Chap. 5. which lie upon them in the foresaid Cases.

2. Secondly, as they relate to Religion. And here also they carry with them a plane Obligation to the foresaid Ministrations in the Foresaid Cases.

With Respect to Religion, they are styled *Ministers of the Word*. We will give our Selves, say the Apostle, to the Ministry of the Word, Act.

4. Or, *Ministers of the Gospel*, or of the New Covenant. The Gospel, whereof I am made a Minister, Eph. 3. 7. Col. 1. 23. And God hath made us able Ministers of the New Testament, saith St. Paul, 2. Cor. 3.

Or sometimes, lastly, *Stewards of the Mysteries*. Let a Man so account of us, as of Stewards of the Mysteries of God, saith the same Apostle, 1 Cor. 4. 1.

Now, as *Ministers and Stewards of the Word of God, of Religion, and of its Mysteries*, they stand intrusted with the Charge thereof. The Part of *Stewards and Ministers*, is to keep such Pearls of Price safe, to supply what is wanting to them, or improve them to advantage; of their Fidelity and Care wherein, they must give a strict Account to their Masters.

So that, as *Ministers and Stewards, of Religion, and of its Mysteries*, they stand obliged,

1. To keep, and preserve them. They must see, that they be not lost, or injured in any Part; that the Word of God be not maimed, or perverted; nor his Worship adulterated, and polluted; nor his Doctrines, and Precepts, either denied in Terms, or vacated by corrupt Glosses, or undermining Propositions. This is the First Thing, which they owe to those good things, wherewith they are intrusted. That good Thing, which was committed to thee, keep, 1 Tim. 1. 14. O! Timothy, keep that, which was committed to thy Trust, 1 Tim. 6. 20. Hold it fast, and in the Form of Sound Words, wherein thou hast received it, 2 Tim. 1. 13: And Remember how thou hast received, and heard, and hold fast,

Rev. 3. 3. These things, are a † *Depositum*, 1 Tim. 6. 20. a † *good* † *precious* † *Depositum*, 2 Tim. 1. 14. or most Sacred and Pretious Things, Lodged in their Hands, and left to their Keeping. So that their first Fidelity to these *Depositums*, must be the Fidelity of good Keepers. They must see, that they be no worse, for being in their Hands; that nothing be spoiled, or perish from them, but that they have them to produce, safe, entire, and uncorrupted, when they are call'd for back again.

And this Keeping of these *Ministers and Stewards*, must not lye merely in Keeping these things thus Pure and Perfect, to themselves; But

2. In Keeping them up, so pure, and perfect, among others. This Worship, is to be a publick Worship; and *Christ's Followers*, are to joyn in Common, and concur therein. And this Word, is to be generally and publickly communicated, and a true Sence thereof is to be born



up, and held fast in the Church of *Christ*. So that these *Keepers*, of the pure and perfect Word, and Mysteries of Religion; must be *Ministers*, to exhibit and deal them out, and *Stewards* to dispence them. The Part of *Stewards*, lyes in dealing of them out: as good *Stewards* of the *Manifold Grace* of God, *Minister the same one to another*, saith *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* 4, 10, 11. And the Part of *Ministers*, lies in *Administration*, or in *Ministring the Gospel*, as *St. Paul* saith, *Ro.* 15, 16. To be *Ministers of the New Covenant*, is to have the *Ministration of the Spirit*, and the *Ministration of Righteousness* which is therein offered, 2 *Cor.* 3, 6, 8, 9. That is, to stand charged with the *Administration* thereof, by Affording People the appointed Ways, of Entering and Confirming it, in *Administration of the Sacraments*; and of being built up in the Duties, and of Supplying and Fetching down the Grace and Blessings thereof, in *Administration of the Word*, and of *Prayers*. And thus the Scripture sets off being *Ministers of the Word*, by having the Charge of *Preaching* and *Testifying* it. To make thee a *Minister*, and a *Witness*, saith our Lord to *Paul*, when he committed the Gospel to him, *Act.* 26, 16. And the *Ministry*, which I have received of the Lord *Jesus*, to *Testifie the Gospel of the Grace of God*, saith the Apostle, *Act.* 20, 24. And they were then said, to have fulfilled this *Ministry of the Word*, when they had *Preach'd it all about*, *Act.* 12, 25.

As therefore they are obliged, to purge out all *Prophanation* and polluted Matter, from *Worship* and *Prayers*; and all corrupt *Glosses* and vacating *Salvo's*, from the *Doctrines* and *Duties* of Religion, as their *Faithful Keepers*: So are they obliged, to exhibit the same thus purged and cleansed in their own *Ministrations*, that they may keep them up among others, as their *Faithful Stewards* and *Ministers*. And they are very much wanting to Religion and its Mysteries, if they do not acquit themselves, both as their *Faithful Keepers*, and *Dispensers*, in the fore said Cases.

And this *Keeping* and *Dispensation*, of the fore said unpolluted *Worship* and moral *Doctrine*, where that can be had, is to be in a *regular* and *standing Church*. If there is a want of *Pastors* and *People* in any *Defection*, to incorporate in the *Administration*, and *Profession* of them, 'tis a Fatal Blow, indeed, to pure *Worship* and *Doctrine*, in any *Kingdom*. But if a Remnant is left, both of *Pastors*, and *People*, who still *Faithfully* and *Firmly* adhere thereto; their Way is, † as a *Light set on a Candle-Stick*, or as a *City set on an Hill*, by a visible *Communion*, to profess them, and to bear them out before Men. 'Tis a Debt they owe to Religion, and to *Gods Holy Truth* and *Worship*, to appear

appear to the World, as a visible Church, for the Maintenance and Ministration thereof.

For Religion, ought not to stand on scatter'd Individuals, but to be born up by † Communion of Pastors and People, or by regular † *vid. Part 3. chap. 4.* Societies. Our Lord has instituted a Christian Church, for the Profession and Support, of Christian Worship and Doctrine. And *the Church, is to be the Pillar and Basis, or Stay of Truth:* Or that, which should support and bear it up, and make it both more conspicuous, and more creditable to the World, 1 Tim. 3. 15. As a Church, they must preserve the *Depositum*, and Minister and bear it out in their own Times: And *commit the same to Faithful Men, who*, at the Head of their Respective Churches, may hold it on, and *Teach others*; that is, transmit it down, by like Way of Church Ministrations, and visible Societies, to succeeding Ages, 2 Tim. 2. 2. By the Professions and Ministrations of such Societies, it comes down to us: and by the same, ought we to convey it down to our Posterities, that there may be no want of that *Sacred Depositum*, or of a Church, to Minister the same and bear it out before Men, to preserve the Knowledge and Memory thereof, and to shew that True Religion has not failed, to the Worlds End.

CHAP.

## C H A P. VI.

*More of the Obligations to Actual Ministration, which lie upon them in the foresaid Cases.*

**T**HE last Respect, wherein the Ministerial Characters may be considered, is,

3. Thirdly, *as they relate to the Souls of Men, or to the Church.* And these also most evidently oblige to the same Ministrations, in the foresaid Cases

For in this Respect, they are placed in the Church of *Christ*, and set-over it,

1. As *Watchmen*. *I have set thee as a Watchman to the House of Israel*, saith God to the Prophet, Ezek. 3. 17. and cap. 33. 7. and *they watch for your Souls, as they that must give an Account thereof*, says St. Paul, Heb. 13. 17. Now the *Watchman*, is set to espie any Emergent Harm or Dangers, before they come; and to descry the Enemy, whilst yet he is only approaching. And this, to give Notice of them, that the People may not be Surprized, or Siezed thereby, but timely shun them, or prepare against them. So that his Office lies, in *Ministring the Word of Warning*. *Being set as their Watchman, thou shalt warn them from me*, Ezek. 3. 17. and cap. 33. 7. *Warning every Man, who is in the Way of doing ill, and teaching every Man the Sin and Danger thereof, that we may present every Man perfect in the Knowledge and Obedience of Christ Jesus*, Col. 1. 28. And if he fails to minister this Word of Warning, as any Spiritual Need of theirs, or as any Approach of Sin and Danger requires the same, *their Blood God will require at the Watchman's Hands*, Ezek. 33. 8. and cap. 3. 18.

Now, Immoral Worship and Practices, are most Detrimental, and Dangerous to Souls. Immoral Prayers, Prophane God, instead of Honouring him; and provoke a Curse, instead of bringing down a Blessing. And Immoral Practices, are Ways of Death, which Men must not trust to any Prayers to put by, or Atone for, till, instead of going on therein, they truly Repent of the same, and turn away from them.

And

And when any Guides come, to recommend and justifie these to Men, and to vacate all those moral Precepts, which should make them uneasy and afraid to be found therein; then is the Enemy approaching, and Guilt and Death stand Gaping to devour them. And then they who watch for Souls, ought certainly to administer the Word of Warning, and to see that the People do not securely Sin and Perish, for want of their *Blowing the Trumpet*, and giving Notice. And the Blood of those Souls would be required at their Hands, should they treacherously keep Silent, and fail to Preach and warn their Charge, on such Occasions.

2. *As Overseers or Inspectors. Take heed to the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, Act. 20. 28. Taking the Oversight thereof, willingly and of a ready Mind, 1 Pet. 5. 2.* Now the Overseer of Souls, is to be an Overseer of their Worship, or of what they do in God's House; of their Lives and Practices, how they demean themselves in those Duties, which God will require an Account of; of their Faith, how they retain the Belief and Profession of his Truths; and of any Spiritual Wants or Dangers, or other things, whereon the Salvation of Souls Depends. And the Part of these Overseers is, from time to time to observe, what their Wants, or Dangers are, either in Worship, Faith, and Practice, &c. and to minister Provisions and Supplies against them. Their Eyes are to be over them for these Purposes; the Over-Sight which they have undertaken, being an *Over-Sight of Care and Kindness*, for the right Conduct and Salvation of their Charge. Accordingly, as Overseers, they are call'd upon to take *Heed to their Flocks*, or to Espy and Provide against any Harm, that is coming upon them. And when they are in any Spiritual Want, either of Worship, or Doctrine, or of other Ghostly Provision, which is in their Power to supply them withal; to *Feed them therewith*, or to *minister it to them. Feed the Flock of Christ, whereof you have taken the Oversight*, saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. 5. 2. And take heed to all the Flocks, to *Feed the Church, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers.* Yea, such Heed, as befits the Oversight of the most invaluable Things, this Church being the *Church of God*, and a *Church which he hath purchased with his own Blood*, Act. 20. 28. And this Feeding of their Spiritual Wants, is Feeding them with their Spiritual Ministrations, those being the proper Food of Souls. So that, to shew themselves *Faithful Overseers*, when the foresaid Immoralities are introduced into the Worship, the Doctrine, and Practice of the Church; they must take heed, both to espy the Guilt and Danger thereof, and to supply the Church with better and more wholesome Ministrations.



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3, As *Guides* or *Leaders*. Remember † your *Guides*, or those that have the *Guidance* or *Ru'e* over you, Heb. 13. 7. 17. And our Saviour calls the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, those Ignorant and Mistaken Pastors, *Blind*

\* *Guides* or *Leaders*, Mat. 23. 16, 24. and Mat. 15. 14.

Now, the Business of *Guides* of *Souls*, is to shew them *Gods* Way, and to carry them on in the same; and to keep them out of such, as are Evil and Destructive to them. In all things, where they are set Direct, they must shew them the Right, and lead them on in it, as the *Leaders* in what is Good: and call out to them when they are going Wrong, and shew them the Danger of holding on therein. They must not be Ignorant or mistake the way themselves, which is to be *Blind Guides*, as our Saviour taxed the *Pharisees*, Mat. 23. 16. And when they see the Right, they must not Conceal or Dissemble it; but as to be *Guides*, which speak to their People the Word of the Lord, or tell them what he calls Right, Heb. 13. 17. And this they must do with all carefulness; Seeing that none miscarry, or perish for want of Guidance; but only for being Deaf thereto, and Contumacious against all their Calls: wherein they must demean themselves, as they Watch for Souls, and must give an Account thereof, as the Apostle threatens.

Now, as *Guides* of *Souls*, they are to direct and lead them, in acceptable and saving Worship, Doctrines, and Practices. And if, with Respect to any of these, they see them going wrong; or, see Seducers busy to mislead them: as their true and faithful *Guides*, they must set them Right, and call out to them to have a Care of Wandring, or if they are got out of the Way, to come back again. When others guide them into an Immoral Worship, or Immoral Practices, or into the Belief and Maintainance of such corrupt Salvo's as vacate Moral Duties; they must Guide them out of the same. And they would be very unfaithful *Guides*, should they suffer Men, either on their own Heads, or at the Call of Seducers and False *Guides*, to run into wrong Ways; and should not diligently Discharge their Ministry, and do their Part, to lead them better, and set them Right in such Cases.

4. As *Pastors* or *Shepherds*. The Evangelical Ministers, St. Paul calls *Pastors*, Eph. 4. 11. They are set to Feed Christ's Sheep, and under him the Chief Shepherd, as St. Peter speaks, 1 Pet. 5. 2, 4. Of these, God foretells, that they should be *Pastors* after his own Heart, Jer. 3. 15. And the *Priests* of Israel, God calls the *Pastors* and *Shepherds* of Israel, when he sends to denounce VVoes against them, Jer. 23. 1, 2. Ezek. 34. 2.

Now, the Part and Office of *Shepherds* and *Pastors* is, to Feed their Sheep. Should not the *Shepherds* Feed their Flocks? Ezek. 34. 2. And

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Chap. 6. *which lie upon them in the foresaid Cases.*

Feed the Flock of God, which is among you, 1 Pet. 5. 2. The Food of Souls, are Divine Offices, and the Word of Knowledge. These are represented, as the Milk, which they are to Suck, 1 Pet. 2. 2. as the Bread of Life, wherewith they are to be Sustained, Jo. 6. 35. and as the Meat, which perisheth not, but endureth to Eternal Life, ver. 27. and ver. 47, 48, 51. And therefore the Feeding of the Shepherds of Souls, must be their Administration of this Spiritual Food, or Feeding the People with the Ministry of the Word, or of Divine Offices: Feeding them with Knowledge and Understanding, as God promises the True Prophets should do, Jer. 3. 15.

His part is also to keep them together the best he can, for joynt Participation of these Ministrations, that, as one Flock, they may be Fed therewith. This Gathering, and Keeping them together, God takes notice of in Shepherds. He that Scatter'd Israel, will gather him, as a Shepherd doth his Flock, Jer. 31. 10. When he carries them out to Feed, or to Minister this Spiritual Food to them; he calls to all his Sheep, that will know, and hear his Voice, and not Run after strange Voices, and leads them out, and goes before them, (the Sheep among the Fews, being used to † Follow, not, as with us, to be driven before their † Psal. 23. 2. Keepers,) that as one Flock, they may Feed together thereon, he himself Administring it at the Head of them, Jo. 10. 3, 4, 5. And if any Wolf comes to break in, to Destroy or Scatter any of his Fold; he doth not Flee away as the Hireling, but stands to them at his Peril, to keep them together the best he can, and to Guard them against the Wolf by a diligent Ministration, ver. 11, 12, 13. He takes heed, as St. Paul directs, to Feed and Arm all the Flock, that they may not become a Prey to greivous Wolves, Act. 20. 28, 29. And if any of them are lost in the on-set, he seeks after that which was Lost, to recover it again; if any, by the Fright, were driven away, or Scatter'd, he endeavours to bring it back. He Strengthens, what was Diseased; and Heals, what was Sick; and Binds up, what was Broken in the Conflict. And without such Care, in Getting, and Keeping their Flocks together, by such Ministrations; God declares, they are not Shepherds that Feed his Flock, but that Feed themselves; and that he is against them, and will require his Flock at their Hands, Ezek. 34. 2. 3. 4. 8. 10.

As Pastors and Shepherds of the Flock therefore, they must see what Spiritual Food is Administred to it. If there is a want, of Necessary, and Saving Doctrine, and Worship; they must not see the Children starve for want of Bread, or the Fold pine away for want of Food, but lead out all that will know their Voice, where they may have it, and there Administer the same themselves, and supply it to them. Or, if others would Feed them with poyson'd Food, as immoral Doctrines, and im-

moral Worship are; they are to warn them of the Harm design'd, and to Minister purer and more wholesome to them in its stead. And this Care must be, as much as the Case allows, to keep their Flock together with these Administrations. So that as Shepherds, who would have the Care of the Flocks, or approve themselves Faithful Pastors; they are bound to Feed and keep their Flocks together, by due and diligent Exercise of their Pastoral Ministrations, in the foresaid Cases.

5. As Doctors, or standing Teachers of the Church. He has given them to the Church, as Pastors and Teachers, saith St. Paul, Eph. 4. 11. And requires, that they shall be † able to Teach others, 2 Tim. 2. 2. and \* apt to Teach, 1 Tim. 3. 2. and 2 Tim. 2. 24. This Teaching, must be of the Things that thou hast heard of me, saith the Apostle, 2 Tim. 2. 2. of the Depositum, or of that good Thing, which was committed to thee, 2 Tim. 1. 14. Of all that is Needful, in the Work of the Ministry, for the Edifying of the Church, and for the Perfecting of the Saints, in the Unity of the Faith, and in the Knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect Man in Christ, Eph. 4. 11. 12. 13. It must be a Teaching that Faithfully, and Incorruptly, as they have been Taught them: Holding fast the Faithful Word, as they have been Taught it, that their Exhortation may be by Sound Doctrine, Tit. 1. 9.

And in this Work of Teaching all these Things, with Fidelity and Incorruptness, from Time to Time, as need requires, they must lay themselves out, and give Attendance. Let him that Teacheth, wait on Teaching; and him that Exhorteth, on Exhortation, Ro. 12. 7, 8. Give Attendance to Exhortation, to Doctrine, i. e. † Teaching or Instructing others, 1 Tim. 4. 13. They are to Labour, in Administering this Word and Doctrine, 1 Tim. 5. 17. To give themselves wholly to these Things, and to continue in them, that by so doing, they may both save themselves, and those that hear them, 1 Tim. 4. 15, 16. They are to slip no Seasons, when People need to be Taught any of these Matters. But to Preach the Word, and to be instant in it, in Season, and out of Season, 2 Tim. 4. 2. And, as Good and Faithful Rulers and Stewards of the House-Hold, to give them their proper Portion of Meat in due Season, Luk. 12. 42. Particularly in those Seasons, when False Teachers lead them to do ill Things, and seek to Poyson them with corrupt Doctrines. For then, by Sound Doctrine, they are to stop the Mouths of vain Talkers and Deceivers, who for filthy Lucre's Sake, Teach things which they ought not; and to convince Gair-Sayers, Tit. 1. 9, 10, 11. And to be ready with all faithful Diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange Doctrine, contrary to Gods Word, and to call upon others to do the same: As all Bishops, according to our Form of Consecration, Solemnly Promise in their Ordination.

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Now, sustaining the Office, and standing in Place of such Teachers to the Church; the Ministers of *Christ* must necessarily be bound, to a diligent Discharge of their Ministrations, or to Administer the Word in the forementioned Cases. For then, both the Prayers and Religious Service, and the Lives and common Practice of the People, is corrupted by heinous Immoralities. And they want to be Taught and Shew'd, that there is any Harm in either; False Teachers having justified to them the Immoralities in both, and, by vacating moral Precepts, and by Broaching corrupt and immoral Doctrines, having labour'd to leave in them no Conscience thereof. And when People are thus Untaught, or Mistaugth, in great and concerning Parts of the *Deposicum*; they, who would faithfully Discharge the Part of true Teachers, must take Care to Teach them better. If they are to attend on it, so Labour, and give themselves wholly to it; how can they let it fall at such a Time, not appearing at all, or appearing very negligent therein. If they are to continue in Teaching these Things, they must not flinch from it, and give it off; if they are to do it, in, and out of Season, they must not sure be wanting, when the Season is so pressing; if against Deceivers, and Gain-Sayers, they ought in no wise to fail, when those Gain-Sayers are so busie at Work, for Perversion thereof. So that, as Faithful Teachers of *Christ's* Church, they are not to suffer the People to perish for want of saving Knowledge, but are duly to Administer the Word in the foresaid Cases.

I might also further Note the Necessity and Obligation they lie under to the foremention'd Ministrations, from their being set up by our Saviour, as the Light of the *V*World, Mat. 5. 14. and as the Salt of the Earth, ver. 13. For, as the Light of the *V*World, they must shine out, and give Light abroad; Men not Lighting a Candle, to put it under a Bushel, that it may shine only to it self; but put it on a Candle-Stick, that it may shine out and give Light to others, ver. 15. And such Light they give to the World by their Ministrations, when they Minister the Gospel, and all the Doctrines and Duties of it, with the Knowledge whereof, the World is to be enlightned. And as the Salt of the Earth, they must keep the Religious Service, and Morals of Men, from being corrupted; since the use of Salt, is to keep out Putrefaction and Rotteness. And this also, is by their Ministrations. For, by their Constancy in Administring Sound and Wholesome Things, they Season the Church, keeping it up in Purity and Soundness, and keeping out all Adulterations and Corruptions, when Endeavours are used to introduce them by Seducers.

And thus, by all the Characters of the Ministerial Function, and the Parts of their Office, do the Bishops and Pastors of *Christ's* Church



stand bound, to an actual Discharge of their Ministrations, in the fore-mention'd Cases. And cannot Drop, or let them fall, without their Characters and Offices flying in their Faces.

For how will they answer it to God, as having acted the Part of *Faithful Messengers*, to a People so endanger'd and depraved, by polluted Worship, Doctrines, and Practices, if they have stood Dumb and Speechless, and, instead of Ministerial Uttering and Delivering have suppress'd and kept back the Word and Message they were charged with? How, as having well discharged the Place, of *Ministers, Ambassadors, of Publick Agents and Representatives, of God and Christ*. If they have been such *Representatives*, as would not act, or order any thing in their Names; Such *Ambassadors*, as would pursue no Instructions; Such *Publick Agents*, as refused to act; and such *Ministers and Officers*, as would not Minister or Officiate in their Masters Business and Affairs, yea, even in those of most Importance, and in their greatest Exigencies? How, as having been *Co-workers, and Fellow-Workers*, if, whilst he was so busie at Work, with an endanger'd and depraved People, by his Spirit and Providence; they gave over working, and left him to do it by himself, making him no Help or Furtherance by their Ministrations?

How will they hope to approve themselves before him, to have been *Good and Faithful Ministers and Stewards*, of Religion and its Mysteries, if they have not been, both *Faithful Keepers*, and *Faithful Dispensers* thereof? will Religion and its Mysteries, be judged to have been well kept, when it was suffer'd to be spoiled and rifled, and when the brightest *Gems* of this inestimable *Depositum*, have been broken, embelz'd, or made away; and its choicest Flowers pick'd out, and not only base, but poysonous and corrupt Weeds put in their Places? Or, will they be deem'd, to have been their Faithful Ministers and Dispensers, who have not Minister'd or Dispenced them out to others, but concealed and kept them up to themselves? Or Dispensers of them, by Church Ministrations, at the Head of visible Societies; who have not Pastorally Administred them to any Churches, or headed any Societies of Faithful Upright Christians, in the free and stedfast Profession and observance thereof.

How can they expect, at the Great Day of Accounts, to pass for Men that have acquitted themselves, as *Good Watchmen*, if all the Time, whilst Sin and Death were advancing to make the People their Prey, they could spie no Enemy; or, if they did, would speak of none, nor warn against them? Or, for Trusty *Over-seers*, if they over-looked the most pressing Wants of their Charge, or gave no Caution, nor made any Supply or Provision for them? They are ill *Over-seers*, that over-

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look, when they should espie their Peoples Necessities, or Dangers. And over-see, not as Keepers and Guardians, but Conspirators and Betrayers, if, when they see them, they will not discover them, but let them silently and securely run into Destruction.

Can they imagine he will call them *Faithful Guides*, who left a People that were Ignorant of the true Way, to guide themselves, or to be misguided by Seducers; who would not shew the right Way, when all Endeavours were used to make them go wrong; nor, when they saw them Straying, would call out to them to come back again? Or, that he will repute them *Good Shepherds*, who have taken no Care to Feed their Flocks with Spiritual Ministrations, nor to Guard and Arm them against Wolves and Seducers, nor to keep them together, when they are in Danger to be Scatter'd; nor to bring them back, when they are straying from the Fold? Or, that he will receive and welcome them, as constant and faithful Teachers of his Church, who have let Men Sin and Perish, for want of Teaching; and could silently sit by, and hear them Mistraught by Seducers; and, instead of stopping their Mouths, give way to Gain-Sayers; whose Lips did not preserve, and keep up Knowledge among the People, but suppress and conceal it from them; and who, instead of Seeking, shun'd the Seasons of Ministering the Word, and of giving *Gods* People the Necessary Instructions?

How will they hope to approve themselves at that Day, as having been the *Lights of the World*, if they held this Light as Dark-Lanterns, ministring none to the World, but letting it sit still in Darknes? Or, as the *Salt of the Earth*, if, by pure and wholesome Ministrations, they did not season the Inhabitants thereof, but suffer'd them, for want of Seasoning, to run into Spiritual Corruption and Putrefaction? If they appear then, to have been such Salt, as did nothing to keep out Corruption, they will be in Place of *Salt without Savour*, as our Blessed Lord says, or of *Inspid Salt*. And such, instead of being set by, and carefully laid up, he declares to be *Good for nothing, but to be cast out, and troden under Foot*, Mat. 5. 13.

So that all the Parts and Offices, the Titles and Characters of their own Sacred Powers, do most fully and lowdly proclaim to them the Duty of exercising their Spiritual Functions, and discharging their Holy Ministrations, in the foresaid Cases. And let them but look, to any of those Marks of Power and Care, which God has put upon them; or to any of those Stations, wherein he hath placed them; and they will effectually Remind them, how much they are obliged to stir up the Gift that is in them, when they see Religion wronged, and the Souls of Men endanger'd, by Immoral Worship and Doctrines, or by other great Invasions on Christian Worship, Faith, or Practice.

Indeed,

Indeed, the Necessity of supplying the Church, with this Pure Worship, Faith, and Practice, is thought by some to go a great Way in conferring the Ministerial Powers, on those who otherwise would not have them. And this is the Plea, for the Collation of the Ministerial Powers by Ordination of Presbyters, without Episcopal Imposition of Hands, in some Foreign Churches. But, not to examine that here, whatever Force and Effect it have in that Case, of Conferring the Ministerial Powers on those who have them not; it must needs be a sure Call to the Exercise thereof to those who have them, and are Endowed therewith.

I do not say all Men are equally bound by the foresaid Characters, to exercise these Gifts; nor that the same Men are equally bound to it in all Places. The Blessed Apostles, had *General Commissions*, and were sent out expressly to all Nations, Mat. 28. 19. Other Bishops have a more limited Inspection, and ought to be more especially Watchful over their own Diocesses, having more particularly undertaken the Charge thereof. But yet so, as to be the Bishops of the † Catholick Church, and for the Preservation of the Catholick Worship and Faith, who are therefore under Obligation of keeping these up, as far as they can, when they are Sinking and Over-Born in other Places.

† See Part 3.  
Chap. 4.

Indeed, in this Ministration, they are not to stand on Punctilio's of Obligation, doing no more than it can be proved they are bound to do in Rigor of Justice. But they are to shew Zeal and Affection, which doth not weigh Grains, but thinks that a Call, where it can do Religion and its Master any considerable Service; and that the more of this it can do, the better it is. *The Spirit of Love*, and Zeal, is the Spirit, which God requires in Pastors, to direct and Influence their Spiritual Exercises and Administrations. *Lovest thou me?* says Christ to Peter, repeating this to him Three Times, when he charged him with the Pastoral Office, of Feeding his Sheep, and his Lambs, Jo. 21. 15, 16, 17. By the putting on of Hands in Orders, the Spirit, which God hath given us, is the Spirit of Love to Christ and his Church, and of Power or Firmness and Fearlessness of what Evil may befall our selves in prosecution thereof, says St. Paul, 2 Tim. 1. 7. The Charge of Feeding the Flock, or the Over-Sight which they take, is not an unwilling Charge, such as will go no further than it is compell'd; but requires a Willing and a Ready Mind, that, on any Call, is free and prompt of it self to Discharge it, 1 Pet. 5. 2.

And this Spirit of Love, and Zeal, and Power, which is the Principle of their Ministrations, stands not upon strict Terms: But, being full of Care for Christ, and for the Good of Souls, and Fearless of what may thereby befall our selves, doth more or less, according as it's Measure and Degree is. St. Paul, had a great Measure thereof, and according to the

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the Degree of it's working in him mightily, he laboured and strove earnestly in the work of the Ministry, *that he might present every Man perfect in Christ*, Col. 1. 28, 29. He disputed not meely, how far he was bound; but would readily go beyond the strict Terms: counting, whatever were the Over-plus, that it was to be expected from this Principle of Love and Zeal in his Master's Cause, and would abundantly be made up by a surpassing Recompence. *If I do this thing willingly, or beyond strict Command or Necessity*, says he, speaking of some things in the course of his Ministration which he was not strictly bound to, *I have a Special Reward for so doing*, 1 Cor. 9. 15, 17. And proportionable to the Degree, of this Love and Zeal in others, will the Measure of their Service and Ministrations be likewise. They will still in any Places, be more Active to keep up the Catholick Faith and Worship; according as they are more perfect, in this Ministerial or Pastoral Spirit.

And thus, at length, I think it may fully appear, that *Christ's Faithful Ministers* are on many Accounts Obliged not to suppress their Ministrations, but to supply the Church therewith, when that is Necessary to prevent a Peoples being nursed up in Irreligious and destructive Ways, like as are, not only Idolatry and Speculative Heresies, but also, Immoral Doctrines and Practices, and Immoral Worship and Devotions. And therefore should those things prove Immoralities, which, on any Revolution, happen to be justified in any Kingdom, and are every where Press'd and Recommended to the Peoples Practice, and are salved by the foresaid or such like new Doctrines, and are brought into Prayers, and publick Offices and Devotions in those Countries: The deprived Bishops and Clergy in that State, would be under all these Obligations to exercise their Functions, and to Minister to the Church in those Cases.

And this would absolutely set aside the Argument, from the forecited Sayings of *Clement*, and *Dionysius*, and *Chrysostom*, and *Nazianzen*, for the cessation of Rightful Bishops to the intruding Anti-Bishops. For these Cessations, are in a Cause that concerns only Personal Rights, not that touches the Interests of Religion, or the Salvation of Souls. And without examining the Truth of the particular Histories, wherein are Errors enough as others have made appear; it will also effectually put by all the Force of the *Greek Manuscript in the Publick Library at Oxford*; or of the Collection of Instances of Injured Bishops resting under unjust Deprivations, and keeping in the Communion of the new Intruders into their Places, lately Translated by Mr. *Hody*. For those Instances of Acquiescence and Communion, are brought, as the *Author of the Manuscript* † several Times professes, for Instances thereof, only whilst the In-  
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† p. 118. 119.  
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truders were *Orthodox*. And so, are no Instances for Acquiescence, in the Cause and Oppression of pure Worship and Doctrine, or of the Interest of Souls: But only in Competition of Persons, where the publick Offices to be administred, the Doctrines to be taught and uphold, and the Practices to be Pressed and Justified under them, were the same under both.

And therefore there can be no pressing Silence, or Cessation, on the Deprived Bishops and Clergy at such times, with any Appearance of Truth and Reason, but by clearing those things which they stick at, and which they see every where imposed on Worship and Practice, of all Immorality and Unrighteousness. Which, on such Revolutions and Change of Masters, they can never do, who profess to transfer Allegiance, and to do all on the Plea of a *King de facto*, leaving the Dispossessed Prince to be still *King de jure*. By which, in their own Account, they are acting all the while against Right, and against him that has it, which is to be, as St. Paul says of *Stubborn Hereticks* † *convict of their own Consciences, or Self-Condemed*, Tit. 3. 10, 11. So that all these Brethren, who on such Occasions, have profess'd this, must condemn their own Principle, and all the compliance they have paid thereupon, before they can accuse the Deprived Pastors for holding on still in their Spiritual Administrations, or can persvade them to forbear, But that which alone can be effective to purge the things in Debate, of this Immorality and Unrighteousness, is the *Clearing of the Legal Right*, (which the publick Acts of such times, I think are not wanting to Assert,) as the Ground of all that is then call'd for, either in Practice, or in Worship. And the Discussion of this, is no Part of my Design or Purpose in these Papers.

To conclude this Point, of *their Obligations to these Ministrations*, I only add in the *last Place*, that if, for keeping up pure Worship, Doctrine, and Practice, *Christ's Faithful Pastors* are bound to afford these Ministrations in the forementioned Cases, *his Faithful People* will in the same Cases stand bound to adhere to them, and to attend on them for Participation thereof.

This Obligation will appear,

I. *From that Adherence they owe to the things themselves.* They are bound to Purity of Worship, Belief, and Practice, that they may Propriate and please God, and Benefit their own Souls thereby. As Christians, or as Men Professing Christian Religion, they are obliged to Unite themselves to these, and to stick by them. And that, in Church Society and under Pastoral Administrations, to keep up a *Communion of Saints* in such pure Worship and Professions. And this must be under such Bishops and Ministers, as retain and stand true to them, when others fall off from them.

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As Members of a Church, 'tis true, good Christians stand obliged to adhere to their own Bishops. For the Bishops, are the Heads of Church-Societies; and 'tis the Duty of Members, to stick and keep United to the Heads of their respective Bodies. But this, as I shall shew hereafter, is only whilst they keep to those things, wherein they are bound to head them, that is, to pure Christian Worship and Doctrines. It is for the having these Administered, that they are obliged to be under any Pastors, or to adhere to them. And so they must still adhere to such, as do Administer the same. Which, if their own Bishops fail to do, they are to stand off from them, to hold on with such pure Worship and Doctrine, and to have the Administration thereof from such other Bishops and Pastors, as keep True and Firm thereto, whereof I shall speak more at large, in its proper Place.

† Part 3.  
chap. 3. C. 6.

2. *From the Duty on their Part, in all the foresaid Relations.* For those Relations, carry Duties on both sides, and call, as the true Pastors to Feed and Minister to the Church; so all True Members of the Church, to seek their Food from the Ministrations of such true Pastors. As it is the Part and Office of the One, to Administer them: So is it of the Other, to attend on their Administration, for Participation thereof. If they are *Christ's True Shepherds*, to whom should his Sheep adhere, but to his Shepherds, and know and hear their Voice, and not give Ear to the Call and Voice of Strangers? Jo. 10. 3, 4, 5. If they are the *Faithful Guides of Souls*, to whose Ministerial Conduct and Direction, should the People of God commit their Souls, but to theirs, who will lead them out, and carry them on, only in Safe and Right Ways? If they are the *Trusty Watchmen*, under whose Watch and Guard, should Men, who seek nothing but to save their Souls, place themselves, but under those, whose Eyes are always open to see, and their Voice lift up faithfully to admonish and warn them of their Dangers? If they are the *true Teachers*, to whom should the Schollers and Disciples of Christ Resort for Instruction, but to them, and attend, as Obedient Learners, on their Preaching and Exhortation? If they are *Christ's Faithful Ministers*, his People must keep close to their Ministrations, and adhere to them, as to his trusty Officers and Representatives here on Earth. And if they are to be Fed with the Ministration of Holy Worship and Doctrines, and to be instructed and bore up, only in Righteous and Good Practices; if they must take Care, to be Warned and Guided, Taught and Helped on, only in these Things, which are the things alone, that are fit to please God, and to save their Pretious Souls: To whom must they Cleave, and keep United for them all, but to those Shepherds, who daily provide them with this Food; and to those Guides, who conduct them in these Ways; and to those Watchmen, who fail

not to give them these Warnings; and to those Teachers, who entertain them with these Lessons; and to those Ministers, who constantly Supply them with these Administrations. So that view the Pastoral Function in all its Parts, and Scan all the Characters thereof, and in each, they will see enough to show them their own Duty, as well as their Ministers: And how, as these stand bound to lead, so they themselves do to follow; as the Priests are to Administer, so are the People duly to Attend on them, and to Stick to their Ministrations, in the foresaid Cases.

3. From the contrary Carriage, which they are required to shew towards all, who call them to any Pollutions, or Branch thereof. Such as call the People from Moral Duties, and Obedience, to Immoralities in both; and from Good and Righteous, to Wicked and Unrighteous Practices, the Scripture calls or comprehends under the Title of \* Deceivers, and \* Ro. 16. 18. † Seducers, and \* Wolves, and † makers of Divisions, and \* False-Prophets and False-Teachers, and the like. Now 'tis the Part of good Christians, not to associate themselves with Deceivers, but to stand off from them; not to follow Seducers, but to beware of them; not to run after the Wolves, (which were to show themselves Silly Sheep indeed, and prepared for Destruction,) but to run away from them; not to give Ear to False-Teachers, and False-Prophets, but to keep out of their Hearing; and shut their Ears against them; and lastly, not to make it with them, who cause Divisions, but to avoid them, as St. Paul teaches, and as the Rules of the Church have still required Faithful Christians to do, by the makers of Schism. *But how uss God speak, nor receive the Binger of False Doctrine into your Houses, 2 Jo. 10. 11. Beware of False Prophets, as of Ravelling Wolves, Mar. 7. 15. Keep not Company with Disobedient Ministers, who adhere not to the Tradition they received if us, 2 Thel. 3. 6. 14. Mark them, which Cause Divisions and Offences, by speaking off, and going contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. Ro. 16. 17. These, and such like, are the Scripture Rules in these Cases, which call the Servants of Christ, to withdraw themselves from those, who have first separated and withdrawn themselves from his Worship and Doctrine; and, instead of them, to Adhere to others, who, as his true Ministers and faithful Pastors, stick true to the same, and Administer them Pure and Uncorrupt to his Church; whereof I shall give a further Account † afterwards.*

† Part 3:  
chap. 5.

## PART. II.

## Of Deprivations by Civil States, or Ecclesiastical Synods.

## Chap. I.

## Of the Force of State Deprivations in the foresaid Cases.

**H**itherto I have endeavoured to mark out the cases, wherein the Bishops, and Pastors of Christs Church are bound to exercise their Ministerial Powers, and to proceed on duly in their Administrations. And to set forth the great and manifold Obligations, which are incumbent on them in those Cases,

And having thus laid out *their Obligations*, I shall next consider *the Restraints*, which at such times are most pleadable in these cases, by shewing,

2. Secondly, of what force a deprivation of state, or the Preservation of External Communion and Peace in the Church, ought to be in D.barring them thereof.

1. First, One great thing, that may be alledged, to silence Faithful Bishops and Ministers of Gods pure worship and Righteousness, and to stop the course of their Ministrations in the foresaid Cases, is a *Deprivation of state*, when the secular Power, by its Laws and interdicts, forbids those Ministrations, and removes them from their Sees, putting others into their places.

For Bishops and Pastors, as they are Ministers of Christ, so are they also Subjects of the state: And therefore, as some think, ought not to exercise their Ministry, at least *not among their Subjects*, nor in any Diocese of *their Dominions*, in opposition to it. And in Christian Kingdoms, the Church is incorporated into the state. And by the Benefit of this incorporation, Bishops and Pastors have their spiritual Ministrations back'd with secular Effects and Censures, as *Excommunication* among us, makes lyable to Temporal imprisonment, and incapacitates from carrying on any civil suit, or *Action* in the civil courts. They have also their jurisdiction extended thereby, to some secular matters; as the Bishops courts are to matters of *Wills, Marriages, Benefices, &c.* And are encouraged therein, by *Secular Benefices, Honours, and Freeholds*. Now all these secular Fortifications, jurisdictions, and encouragements in their Ministrations, conferr'd on the Bishops and Pastors



of an incorporate Church, are the gifts of the state, and are secular additions, to what Spiritual Powers they received from *Jesus Christ*. And what the state gives, the state, when it sees cause, may deprive them of. So that incorporate Ministrations, or Administring these Spiritual Powers in the mixt and fortified way of an incorporate Church, may seem, as some will argue, more subject to the state, to take out of some, and to put into other hands.

Especially considering, that in grateful return and commutation for the benefit of incorporation, or for being made free of the state, and having the secular accessions; the Church, by Compromise, has parted with some of its priviledges to the Civil Power. Thus, since the incorporation, has it, in compliance, given up to the state, the *Nomination of Bishops and Metropolitans*, belonging anciently to the other Bishops of the Province, or to the Clergy and People of the Church: And that *Rules agreed on in Synods, shall be no Canons, till they be approved and ratified by the Prince*: And that there shall be no *Admission, or Refusal of Clergy to Cures, or use of Discipline*, but in *consistence with, and under Regulation of the Kings Prerogative*, and the *Laws of the Land*; and the like. And by these Cessions, they may seem, as some think, to have Cut off all Power of Contesting the States Nomination or Advancement to Churches, or its Deprivation and Removal from them; as having, by their account given up these Priviledges, in way of bargain and exchange, to keep on the benefits and State enjoyments of an incorporate Church.

But as to this Regard, which they ought to have to State deprivations in bar of the foresaid Ministrations, I observe.

1. *First*, that this Regard is to be press'd, only *under a supposed Legal and Rightful State*. For 'tis to their Rightful Prince, that, as good and faithful subjects, they owe all their Obedience, which is call'd for in these cases. What Regard they are to pay as subjects, must be to his Deprivation. But not if they are deprived by an Usurper set up against him, who really has no Regal Authority over them, but only pretends to it, and assumes a Power which is none of his own. Especially, if he should deprive them, for their Adherence to their Lawful King: As if *Athaliah* had deprived *Jehojadah*, for adhering to *Joash* his true Sovereign; or as the *Rebellious Parliament* did depose, not only the *Bishops* and *Episcopal Clergy*, those Faithful Adherers to the Crown, but *Episcopacy* it self in *King Charles the First's* time. For then, as there is no real Authority, to bind on; so neither would there be any Equity, or Colour of Law, to back such a deprivation, or to oblige the sufferers to acquiesce therein. The Law, which still supports the Right of the Lawful King against his Usurpation, must needs support the Rights of all his Adherents against the same: And as still he would be the Legal King;

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fo would they, not only be the real, but, in Eye of Law, the Legal Paftors, notwithstanding his Forcible Removal of them. And therefore there is no room for this regard to a deprivation of State, on the Plea of a *King de Facto*, or on fupposal of *unrighteous ufurpation*. The *Legal Right*, asserted ftill by the *Publick Acts* on fuch Revolutions, will give it place to go as far as it can. But as for all thofe, who give up the Legal Right, 'tis not for any of them, (and 'tis well known how considerable a part they make among the writers, as well as among the practicers in this point,) to urge the Authority of a deprivation of State in this queftion.

2. Secondly, a Deprivation of a *Lawful State*, if fupposed to pafs on Bifhops and Minifters, would be no confcionable difcharge from keepeng on their *fpiritual Miniftrations*, againft fuch immoralities as are fet down in the *aforesaid* cafes. For *Jesus Chrift*, who gave them their Minifterial Powers, requires them, as his Minifters and as Paftors of his Church, to exercife them for him, and for the Souls of Men, as I have fhewn, when thofe Cafes happen. And if the State forbids what he commands, they are to hear or obey no ftate, or Power on earth, againft him. But muft answer, as the *Apoftles* did to the *Jewish Rulers* in this Cafe; *whether it be lawful in the fight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* Act. 4. 18. 19. 20. And thus it muft needs be, in men who are call'd to be his Minifters, under perfecuting States; and to be Minifters of a Religion, which is a *Doctrine of the Crofs*, and bids them expect and prepare to bear Croffes under oppreffive powers; as is plainly the Cafe of *Gofpel-Minifters*. For if they muft be his Minifters, and adminifter this Religion in perfecuting ftates, they muft hold on Miniftring, when the ftate where they live breaks with them, and both moft ftroctly forbids, and moft cruelly perfecutes them for fo doing. And thus the *First Minifters* did, who were to plant Chriftianity, againft all the Edicts and Oppofitions, of the *Heathen*, or *Jewish Magiftrates*. And fo did all the Faithful Bifhops and Paftors thereof, who, in all the fucceeding perfecutions of the Church, ftuck firm to their Miniftrations, againft all the inhibitions and oppreffive force of fe- cular Rulers; or elfe, our holy Religion had perifh'd long fince, and had never defcended pure and perfect as it is, to our days. And fo muft all others do, in any prefent, or fucceeding Tryals, (which, as they al- ways have done, fo always will feek to fuppreff Chrifts worfhip and Truth, by fuppreffing the pastoral adminiftrations thereof,) that, by their Miniftry, it may not fail in the Church, but be held on the fame, and continued down to the worlds end.

But this I fay, as to their pure *fpiritual Powers*, and *Miniftrations*, which they neither did, nor could receive from the Civil State, on which he never conferr'd it, but which they hold independantly of *Chrift Jesus*. That is, what *fpiritual powers* they have received from *Chrift*, by *impo- fition*

sition of Hands continued down from the Apostles: for the feeding and governing of his Church, by Administration of the Word, of Prayers and Sacraments, by letting into the Church, and excluding out of it; and for providing a constant succession of the same Ministrations, by Empowering or Ordaining others: These mere spiritual powers, they must exercise as his Ministers, without regard to any deprivation, or inhibition of Worldly Princes. For Earthly Kings, cannot deprive them of these mere spiritual powers, because they have them not from them, but Minister therein, not by theirs, but by Christs Commission. If Secular Princes gave them their Commissions to exercise their spiritual Authorities, they might recall them: If they were the fountain of these powers, and could make or ordain Bishops, they might have more plea to unmake and deprive them. But not originally proceeding from them, but from Christ himself, by a way of his own prescribing, in a succession of Apostolical imposition of Hands, through all Ages of the Church: They cannot be reversed, by their deprivation. Nor are the Bishops and Pastors, to be debarr'd the exercise thereof in any Case where Christ requires it, at their inhibition; because they are Christs Servants more than theirs, and must obey God rather than man. But

3. Thirdly, as for any Temporal accessions and enforcements of these mere spiritual Ministrations, which the Church receives when once it is shone upon by earthly powers, and made incorporate or free of the State: These Accessions are borrowed Powers, and the Gift of Princes; and under the deposition of a Lawful state, the Bishops and Ministers of Christ must not challenge or pretend to them.

As to these I observe,

1. That the civil state hath Power over these Temporal Accessions & secular endowments, because it confer'd them. When Kings and Queens turn Christians, they come not in only as members, to partake in these mere spiritual Ministrations; but as Patrons, by their secular power, to back and Promote them.

\* Isa. 49. They must shew themselves Nursing-Fathers, and Nursing-Mothers, as was foretold \* by the Prophet: and serve the Lord as Kings, that is † by employing their Kingly Power to encourage and advance his service, || doing him those services, which none can do but themselves, as St. Austin tells them.

23.

† In hoc

Reges, sicut

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vinitus

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Regno bona

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humanam Societatem, verum etiam ad divinam Religionem. Aug. contra Crescon. l. 3. c. 5.

|| In hoc ergo serviunt Domino Reges in quantum sunt Reges, cum ea faciunt ad serviendum illi, quæ non possunt facere nisi Reges. Id. Ep. 50. Ad Bonifacium virum militarem.

Thus, to give encouragement and leisure for the Ministers to attend on these Ministrations without distraction, the civil State endows them with benefices,



benefices, or worldly freeholds, Honors, and priviledges. It also allots them publick and Authorized places, for these Ministrations; and makes Civil Laws, requiring people duly to resort to them, and punishing all disturbers of them, and such as carry themselves indecently thereat. It likewise adds a secular jurisdiction, to the spiritual, extending the spiritual jurisdiction, to the Cognizance of Wills, Marriages, Benefices, &c. which are Civil matters; and backing it by Temporal Accessions in the spiritual parts thereof, making a mixture and Concurrence of Religious and civil powers, in the spiritual Courts. For thus, the *Rubricks*, it passes into Laws; and the *Canons* also, which are the Rules of exercising that jurisdiction, it binds on the Subjects with the *Kings Approbation*, and *Ratification*, or with a *Civil Strengthening*. And the *Spiritual censures* or judgements according to these Rules, it backs with civil penalties, as imprisonment; or with putting men under civil incapacities, as to plead in an Action at Law, or the like.

Now all these Temporal Helps and Accessions, come not to the Bishops and Ministers immediately from Christ, or as they are *Ministers of Religion*. For \* *His Kingdom, is not of this world*: Nor was he, whilst on earth, any judge in civil matters; Nor doth he confer any such worldly powers, or grant any such commissions. But all these secular benefices and fortifications, in all the parts of the spiritual Ministry, are the gifts of Princes. They flow from their favour to the Church, or from their taking upon them to be its Temporal Patrons, or it's *Nursing Fathers* and *Nursing Mothers*. And as the Bishops and Ministers of Christ, hold them only by their commision: So may they lose them by their recalling it. So that although the state has no power, either to give, or to deprive the Ministers of Christ, of their mere spiritual powers: Yet has it a direct Authority, to grant or deprive them, of these Temporal Additional, \* Joh. 18. 36.

And therefore the Bishops and Ministers of Christ in an incorporate Church, when they are deprived by their Rightful Prince, or by a Legal State, must exercise their mere spiritual powers in the foresaid Cases, without any of these civil effects or mixtures. That is, they can only Administer the Word, and prayers, and Sacraments, and let in members by baptism, and on just cause cast them out by excommunication, and ordain others that shall hold on from time to time to do the same. But in discharge of these mere spiritual powers, they cannot claim the establish'd places, wherein to assemble for these Ministrations; nor any enforcement of Civil Laws, to make men duly frequent them, and to hinder all from disturbing them, or from demeaning themselves disorderly or irreverently at them. Nor can they claim any secular benefices, for



for maintenance of those who Minister therein; nor to have any Cognizance, of Wills, Tyths, or other Temporal matters; nor to have their Canons, made Regal injunctions; or their Rubricks, made Parliamentary Laws; and the breakers thereof punishable by Civil Magistrates, in their estates, or Persons; nor their spiritual censures, to bring men under civil incapacities, or make them lyable to civil punishments, or the like. The state, that gave these Civil Accessions to the Bishops and Pastors, in their incorporation; has call'd them back and taken them away, in their deprivation. So that now, to stick to Christ, they must quit the benefits of incorporation, and the Favor of Princes. And, as men left to their naked spiritual powers, which no rightful state can deprive them of; be content to exercise their spiritual Ministrations in the foresaid cases, not as in an endowed and secularly protected, but as in a persecuted, or secularly destitute Church.

And as the state has power, over all these secular endowments of the spiritual ministrations, because it conferr'd them: So has it,

2. *Over some other Powers, which belong'd to the Church, whilst it kept separate, but which it gives up to the Civil State during the benefit of incorporation with it.* For some powers the Church may have no necessity to insist on, either for the sake of Religion, or of the Souls of Men. And such powers, for the greater benefit of incorporation, it may be free to part with.

Thus, provided the substance of Religion were secured, and kept up among men, in all necessary points of Worship and Doctrine; and the main of discipline were taken care for by Canons already allowed, as it *\* was on the submission of our Church and Clergy made under King Henry the eighth: the Church might be free, by Compromise, to agree, that it would exercise no Canons already made, but such as were consistent with the Kings Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land: And that, in Case of any others, a stop should be put to the proceedings of the spiritual courts, by secular Prohibitions. And that the Bishops and Clergy, should not meet to make more, or Assemble in Synod or Convocation, but when summon'd thither by the Kings writ: Nor any of their agreements should be given out for Canons,*

*or Orders, but what he allow'd to pass under his Ratification: And that after they were passed, in things Dispensable, on just cause in any particular case, he should have the chief power to Grant a Dispensation. That all Bishops coming in to Govern this Church, according to the foresaid*

Rules

*\* Provided, That such Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, and Synods Provincial, being already made, which be not contrariant nor repugnant to the Laws, Statutes and Customs of this Realm, nor to the Damage or Hurt of the Kings Prerogative Royal, shall now still be used and executed, as they were afore the making of this Act, till such time as they be view'd, search'd, or otherwise order'd or determined, &c according to the Tenor and effect of this present Act. Statute of Submission of the Clergy, 29. H. 8. c. 19. 7.*

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Rules and Preſcriptions, ſhould be of his *Nomination*. And that the Advancement of all Miniſters, to beneficed and civilly fortified Cures and Adminiſtrations, ſhould be according to the *Rights of Patronage* eſtabliſh'd by the Laws; and ſuch like.

Theſe, and ſuch like powers, are naturally reſident in the Church it ſelf in a ſeparate ſtate, or when it ſtands upon its own bottom, and is not incorporated. For, as a ſociety, it muſt have power in it ſelf, to make needful and wholeſome Rules of Government, from time to time; and to have its Biſhops and Miniſters meet together, as they can, that they may make them; and to appoint perſons, who ſhall be entruſted with the Adminiſtration thereof. And accordingly, whiſt the Church was kept ſeparate from the State, and perſecuted by it, theſe powers were exerciſed by the Church, and by its Biſhops and Paſtors, under all the Heathen Perſecutions. During which, the Clergy under their Biſhops, and the Biſhops under their Metropolitans, were convened and met in Synods, and made Canons, and decided Controverſies, and ſentenced Criminals, and fill'd up vacancies in Presbyteries, or Biſhopricks, having a New Biſhop elected by the Metropolitane and Biſhops of the Province, or ſometimes by the Clergy and People of the Dioceſs; and the like.

Indeed, as good ſubjects of the ſtate, they are bound to keep all innocent ſtate Laws; and cannot, by any deviſed Canons of their own, caſt off their Obligation, or forbid themſelves, or the Church, to pay a due civil obedience by obſervance thereof. So that they have no power in any condition, of making any Church Canons, which require ſubjects to aſt againſt innocent ſtate conſtitutions. Nor may they Lawfully reſuſe, when the ſtate calls them, to meet together in Synods, or otherwiſe: but, as Good Subjects, are obliged to pay a ready obedience, and to appear upon its ſummons. Theſe, are only proper expreſſions of civil ſubjection, from which the Church can in no ſtate or condition plead exemption. But, tho' they may not diſobey the ſtate ſummons; yet, when it meddles not therewith, in a ſeparate condition, they have power to aſſemble themſelves, as they can, and as need requires, taking care to do it in ſuch ways, as will make it leaſt jealous of them. And when Aſſembled, tho' they can make, or inforce no Canons, to defeat any innocent civil conſtitutions; they have power in ſuch ſeparate ſtate, to make others which are conſiſtent with them, and to exerciſe the other now mention'd powers, as I ſay the Church did in the primitive perſecutions.

But when it became incorporate, and was obliged by the favors and privileges of the ſtate, the Church, by *agreements*, partly *exprefs*, and partly by *Tacit* and *practical*, carryed in preſcription, and the practice

of times, gave up these and such like powers, residing otherwise in self, to the Civil Magistrates, who were thus obligingly become its Patrons and Nursling Fathers. \* Since the Emperors became Christians, the Affairs of the Church have Depended upon them, and the greatest Councils have been held, and still are held at their pleasure, was the observation of Socrates in the Preface to his Fifth Book of the History of the Church.

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ως] τὰ  
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κλησίας πράγματα ἡρώλο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μέγισται συνωδοὶ τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γέρονται τὴν ἐκ-  
νονταί. Soc. Hist. Eccl. Proœm. ad lib. 5. pag. 259.

These, it parted with to the civil power, for its Greater Honor. And also to secure it, of its Good Behaviour; being tyed thereby to a compliance in things, which it was not bound to insist on, for the sake of Religion and of a Good Conscience; and to prevent all jarring and interfering with that power, in whose Favor and Society it found so great benefit; seeking herein, to keep up that Beneficial kindness and Correspondence, which is between them. And these it gave up to it, by Degrees; and more in some places, and less in others: Being put upon parting with less at first, and with more afterwards; especially after the Papal Usurpations in the Western Church, grew so very troublesome and prejudicial to Princes and their Kingdoms, in point of investitures, Appeals, &c. Which made them more sensible of the advantage, of having these powers quietly and uncontestedly lodged in their own Hands.

These it might safely part withall, during the incorporation, as retaining still, what it could not part with, viz: a Power of standing by all Necessary Points of worship and Doctrine, and of doing what is necessary for the Souls of Men; and as being also fitted all the time in the main, with what is needful in Point of Discipline. And its parting with them, was in way of Compromise and Bargain, as a grateful Return, for the benefits and priviledges of its Enfranchisement and Incorporation; or on consideration of its enjoying a Freedom, not only of exercising spiritual ministrations; but of exercising them in the way of an incorporate Church, viz. in holding Benefices, and in being back'd therein by secular Jurisdiction, Laws, and Priviledges.

And whilst these benefits of Incorporation are held on in favour of the Truth, the cession of the Church in these Points is to be held on too, and not to be resumed back again. Protected and incorporate Bishops and Pastors, must be content to claim Episcopal and Pastoral powers, under the recessions and limitations of an incorporate Church. Thus our

|| Articles

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Articles, and † Canons, receive and assert the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of our Kings, which contains the foresaid Church-Recessions. And denounce Excommunication ipso Facto to those, that \* Deny any part of our King's Legal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes, or his having the same Authority therein, as the Godly Kings had among the Jews, or Christian Emperors had in the Primitive Church. And accordingly, in our Form of Ordaining Bishops, they profess to think themselves call'd to this Ministration, according to the Will of Jesus Christ, and the Order of this Realm: and promise to censure and punish the unquiet and disobedient within their Diocesses, according to such Authority, as they have by God's Word, and as to them shall be committed by the Ordinance of this Realm.

Art. 37.  
† Can. 1  
and Q.  
Elizab.  
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Supremacy.  
\* Can. 2.

But now all this giving up these, or the like powers, to the State, for the sake of this Incorporation, and in way of bargain and compromise; or other abridgement of its own ministrations; is,

1. With a Salvo to the Interests of Religion, and of the Souls of Men. They cannot give away any thing, to make themselves wanting in any necessary service unto them; nor part with their powers of ministering to Souls, to build and nurse them up in pure Worship, Doctrine, and Practice. These Powers, are a Sacred Depositum; which if they imbezzle, or yield up in compliance, they are false to God, and to mens Souls, and thereby betray both them, and their own Holy Function. And their Acts also are nullities, wherein they offer or promise to do the same. For they are Acts against an antecedent Obligation, which are wicked in the making, as Herods Oath \* was to gratifie Herodias in the Baptists Death; and the † Jews Conspiracy and Oath to kill St. Paul. But they are null as to the Obligation of performance, as is agreed in the case of all contracts and promises to do unlawful things, or things evil or forbidden in themselves.

\* Mar. 6.  
22, 23,  
26.  
† Act. 23.  
12, 13, 14.

They can neither discharge themselves, I say, nor receive any discharge from Princes, of exercising these Powers, where Christ requires they should exercise them for the Service of Religion & of Souls, as I have shewn he doth in the fore-mentioned cases. In Stewards, it is required that they be found faithful, in dispensing out these Ministrations as he orders, not in suppressing them contrary to Order, 1 Cor. 4. 2. Necessity is laid upon me, and woe be to me, is here the Scripture denunciation, if they preach not the Gospel, or fail trustily to discharge that Ministry they have undertaken, 1 Cor. 9. 16. No earthly Powers, by conferring on them the benefits of Incorporation, get any Authority over Christs Ministers, to discharge them of Ministering to their Master in these matters. For this would be, to give the civil power, which ought to keep under Christ, a power over him. It would turn them, from Nursing Fathers, who, by giving it a civil enfranchisement, undertake to protect the true Religion; into devouring Wolves, who seek to make a prey of it. It is expressly declared against by the Apostles, who appeal to the



common sense of mankind, Whether they are not bound to obey God, rather than men, Act. 4. 19. 20. And would leave no ministrations of true Gospel Worship and Doctrine, under any Christian State, which should fall from any necessary parts thereof, and begin to persecute them: as the *Arian Emperors* did, in the Persecutions they rais'd against the Orthodox; and as *Popish Princes* did, in like violences used by them at any time against our Protestant Brethren or Ancestors. Than which, nothing can be worse calculated for any Church of God, but especially for the Christian Church, which is to continue a Church in persecution, and to bear up Christian Worship and Doctrine, by due ministrations of both, when any powers of this World fall, from protecting, most violently to bear them down.

And this in all times has been the Opinion and Practice of God's faithful Ministers, when the State, which, by Incorporation, should have backed and strengthened them therein, fell to discharge and bar them of their ministrations in these cases.

Thus God's Faithful Prophets and Ministers did in the Jewish Church, who approved themselves glorious Confessors and Martyrs, in administering God's Word and true Worship, when the State fell to break in upon them, and, instead of backing and protecting them in those ministrations, according to the purport of incorporation, fell violently to discharge and drive them from officiating any longer therein.

Thus likewise *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Paulus* of *Constantinople*, and other Bishops did, in the *Arian Persecution*. The civil State had then received the Church into it self, & endowed it with civil Edicts and enfranchisements. And the deprivation and ejection of these Bishops out of their Churches, particularly of the *Great Athanasius*, was with State-Concurrence, and for State-Causes or Pretences. Among other Articles *Athanasius* was charged with † Contumacy against the Emperour, in refusing to appear upon his Edict at the Synod of *Cæsarea*. And with a \* Treasonable Design, to stop the yearly Transport of Corn from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, on which suggestion, he was banish'd to *Tryers* by *Constantine*. Not to mention the || Accusation of his having impos'd on the *Ægyptians* a Tribute of *Linnen Cloath*; and † having conspired with one *Philomenus* against the Emperour; and || having Treasonably corresponded with the Traytor *Magentius*, and \* usurped the Imperial Prerogative, by holding the Festival Dedication of the great Church of *Alexandria* without the Emperours Warrant, and the like. And his Deposition, and *Gregories* and *Georges* Advancement to his See by Synods, were seconded by Acts of State: having the Approbation and Justification of the Emperours, and the Assistance of Prefects, as well as the || Imperial Letters, violently forcing

† Theod. l. i. c. 28.

& Soz. l. 1.

2. c. 25.

\* Soc. l. 1.

1. c. 35.

|| Soz. l. 1.

2. c. 22.

† Ibid.

|| Athan.

Apol. ad

Constan.

p. 677. &

681. Ed.

Col. 1686

\* Athan.

ib. p. 682.

|| Athan. ad Solit. p. 811. 815. 843. & Apol. ad Const. p. 695. Ed. Col.

in the *aforeſaid* Caſes.

Chap. I.

\* Athan. ad Solit. p. 815, 816, 817.  
 || Apol. de Fuga, p. 716, 717. ad  
 Conſtant. p. 689, 690. & Proteſt. Pop.  
 Alex. ad Calcem Ep. ad Solit. p. 867.  
 † Ep. ad Solit. p. 843, &c.

... out of the Episcopal Throne, and giving the other Poſſeſſion thereof;  
 ... barbarouſly enforcing ſubmiſſion and ad-  
 ... erence to them from the Clergy and People,  
 ... was done by \* *Philagrius*, || *Syrianus*, and  
 ... *Heraclius*, to omit others. But theſe State-  
 ... hibitions and deprivations, coming on him &  
 ... is Adherents, not for any other Crimes al-  
 ... edged, which were ſhameleſs Falſhoods, and aſſumed meerly as preten-  
 ... es, but in reality only for his being a ſtout Aſſerter of the Orthodox  
 ... faith; he ſtill went on preaching and miniſtring the ſame, and for all  
 ... theſe State-ejections, was ſtuck to therein by the faithful *Egyptians*, and  
 ... the Orthodox in all other places.

And thus alſo our own Anceſtors continued to do, on the States turn-  
 ... ing upon them, and, under Forfeiture of Incorporation, and all the Pe-  
 ... nalties of a Bloody Perſecution, forbidding them to go on adminiſtring  
 ... the Word and Worſhip of God, according to the *Reformation* there-  
 ... of made by King *Edward*, in Queen *Maries* time. For being to admini-  
 ... ſter this Word and Worſhip, in duty to God, and in care of Souls, they  
 ... ſet light by the Benefits of Incorporation and civil Advantages, and  
 ... paid no regard to State-deprivations or inhibitions; but went on faith-  
 ... fully to adminiſter the ſame, though at the peril of their Lives.

I Grant, the deſire of keeping on the publick benefits of incorporati-  
 ... on, may many times be a Reaſon for Biſhops and Miniſters, voluntarily  
 ... to reſt under State-deprivations and inhibitions, when 'tis a Caſe only of  
 ... perſonal rights and privileges. Such deprivations and inhibitions, of-  
 ... ten affect perſons only and not things, when, on the deprivation of one,  
 ... the ſame Miniſtrations would be kept up by others: As was done in the  
 ... depositions of *High-Prieſts*, ſo common in later times among the *Jews*;  
 ... and of *Patriarks*, ſo ordinary at preſent among the *Greeks*; and may  
 ... happen in other places. In all which, there is only a change of perſons,  
 ... but no change in miniſtrations; the Church being lead on in the ſame ne-  
 ... ceſſary Worſhip, Doctrine, and Practice, under both. And here, to pre-  
 ... vent a breach with the ſtate, and to keep on the way of ſpiritual miniſtra-  
 ... tions with the benefit of Secular Acceſſions, the Biſhops and Paſtors of an  
 ... incorporate Church, (where it is not like to do the Church more hurt by  
 ... utter loſs of its liberty in theſe points, than the incorporation deſired  
 ... will compenſate,) may think there is more cauſe for the Churches ſake,  
 ... to reſt under ſtate-deprivations. They may eſteem it their parts, to quit  
 ... their own particular intereſts, to advance the Churches; and believe that  
 ... the keeping on the publick benefits of incorporation, will abundantly  
 ... compenſate, for the wrongful encroachment made by ſuch deprivation on  
 ... private perſon. But in Caſes, which concern, not only the perſonal  
 ... rights and privileges of Paſtors, but the ſubſtance of Religion, or the

safety of Souls, and where Christ requires they should exercise their ministrations, as I have shewn he doth in the foresaid Cases: They must not let them fall, in regard to any inhibitions, or deprivations, even of their Lawful Princes. They must here slight all worldly benefit of protection, and be willing, if need require, to undergo a persecution. And go on faithfully in their ministrations, as their bounden duty requires, and as in these Cases, Gods Faithful Ministers have done in all times.

2. *Secondly, what is so given up by the Church, for abridgement of its own power in spiritual ministrations, is only whilst it keeps united to the state, and receives protection, not when it is separated from it again, or falls under persecution.* Its recessions, as I noted, were on consideration of State benefits, and as a grateful return for them whilst it was suffer'd to enjoy them. They are all upon the score of its union; and so cease when the State breaks off, and turns it up to it self again. For being made separate, it is no longer under any former ties of incorporation, but acts again with the powers of a separate condition. And thus it is, when, instead of protecting, the State puts any necessary points of Doctrine or Worship, or part of their ministration, under persecution. When it separates its protection, it separates it self. It drives out the Church, when it drives out any of those things, which the Church must stick to at all perils; and when, instead of incorporating, or civilly protecting the ministrations thereof, it falls to incorporate, and to protect the ministration of error and wickedness, in their place. It disfranchises pure Worship and Doctrine, when it enfranchises errors and corruptions contrary to them: And by turning to persecute the necessary ministrations of pure Religion, it breaks it self from them, and thence forward they are no longer *one*, but become *two* again.

So that, whatever regard and compliance the Bishops and Ministers of Christ may shew, to such deprivations and inhibitions of the State whereinto they are incorporated, whilst it inhibits no necessary Ministrations to Religion, or to the Souls of Men, but, in discharging all those, they enjoy the priviledges and protection thereof: Yet are they not to be discharged thereby, from ministring to the same in all the foresaid, or other like Cases; nor to be debarr'd of any of their spiritual powers, after once the state breaks with them, and, instead of yielding them the benefits of incorporation, puts them under persecution. But then, they must exercise these ministrations, only according to what they have Received from Christ, and from the Canons of the Church, so far as they do not interfere with any innocent State Laws, which restrain them as Good Subjects: Not with any Civil fortifications, and State Accessions.

## CHAP. II.

Of the Kings Ecclesiastical Supremacy Received  
and Asserted by our Church.

And all this agrees well with the Ecclesiastical Supremacy own'd by our Church, and claimed by our Princes, \*conformable to what was ascribed to, and claimed by the Godly Kings among the Jews, and the Godly Emperors in the Primitive Church. Whose Ecclesiastical Sovereignty, lyes not in their being invested with, or in their having a Sovereign Disposal of the Powers of Orders. But in retaining their Civil Sovereignty over all persons, whether Laymen, or Ecclesiasticks. And in the subordination of Ecclesiastical courts and causes, which are content to act in subordination, on the score of their secular mixtures, as in beneficiary matters, censures, &c. And, for Cognizance of either, of these, either of persons, or causes, in barring all Foreign Appeals.

1. First, It lyes not, I say, in their being invested with, or having a Sovereign Disposal of the powers of orders. For these, our Kings do not pretend to have in their power, or to be powers subjected and inherent in themselves: But to be proper, and Peculiar, to spiritual persons. Thus, King Henry the eighth, when he asserts his own Regal Supremacy over the Church, leaves all proper spiritual powers and Functions to spiritual persons; and, in the \*statute for restraint of Appeals, declares the spiritual authority sufficient and meet, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their Rooms Spiritual doth appertain. And Queen \*Elizabeths injunctions disclaim all challenging of any Authority and Power, of Ministry of Divine Service in the Church, by Vertue of the Supremacy. And the 37th. Article of Religion declares, That thereby we give not our Princes the ministring, either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments. And the || Statute of Queen Elizabeth says, The Oath of Supremacy shall be taken, and expounded, in such form, as is set forth in the Queens Admonition annexed to her Injunctions. They are the Ministers of God in their Dominions, as \*St. Paul says: But that is, as Kings, not as Priests. So that, the Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters, doth not imply the Power of the Keys, which the King has not, † says Mr. Mason. And \*by the Supremacy, we do not attribute to the King the power of the Keys, or Ecclesiastical

\* Can. 2.  
Ecc. Anglic.

\* Sta. 24.  
H. 8. c.  
12. 1.

\* Vid. Ep.  
Sparrows  
Collect.  
p. 83.

|| Stat. 5.  
El. c. 1. 14.

\* Ro. 13.  
4.

† De ministr.  
Ang.  
l. 3. c. 3.  
p. 271.

\* Non vel conciones habendi, vel rei sacræ præundi, vel Sacramenta Celebrandi; non vel personas sacras, vel res; non clavium jus, vel censuræ. Verbo dicam, nihil ille sibi; nihil nos illi fas putamus attingere, quæ ad Sacerdotale Munus spectant, seu Potestatem Ordinis consequuntur. Tortura Torti, p. 380.

stical



*stical Censures, as Bishop Andrews observes. We never gave our Kings the power of the Keys, or any part of either the Key of Order, or the Key of Jurisdiction, purely spiritual, \* says Bishop Bramhall.*

*And this bounding of their Claims and Pretences of Power, is suitable to what we find among those Godly Jewish Kings, and Christian Emperors, to whom our Churches † Articles and \* Canons, about Supremacy, refer.*

*As to the Jews, it appertaineth not unto thee, O Uzziah! to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests that are consecrated thereto, say the Priests to King Uzziah, when he would assume to himself the Priests Office, for which God miraculously smote him with a Leprosie upon the place, 2 Chron. 26. 16, 18, 19, 20. And the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve, and minister unto him, and to burn incense, says King Hezekiah to the Levites, 2 Chron. 29. 11.*

*And the like appears, of the godly Christian Emperors, who were told by their Holy Bishops, and profess'd of themselves, That they were no*

*\* Σοὶ βασιλεὺς powers. \* God hath intrusted the Affairs of the Kingdom, in your hands; but ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ those of the Church, in ours. And, as we may not lawfully take upon us, to ἐν ἐκείνῳ act as Kings; so neither have you Authority, O Emperor! to burn incense, or usurp the Priests Office, said the Great Hosius, in his Epistle to the Emperor Constantius. || To you it appertains externally to punish; but to us to judge ἐκείνους. and determine what is Heretical and impious, say Elusius, and Sylvanus, and the other Bishops, to the same Constantius. † The Royal Purple makes men Emperors, but it doth not make them Priests, says St. Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius.*

*στὴν ἐκείνην δύναμιν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις βασιλεὺς, Hosii Ep. ad Constan. ap. Athanas. Ep. ad Solit. p. 840. || Καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφασιν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς τιμωρίας, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἢ δυσσεβείας, Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. 2, c. 27. † Ἀλευγὶς γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἐκ ἱερῆας ποιεῖ, Ap. Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. 5 c. 18.*

*As Christians, and Godly Emperors, they used their Imperial Power and Sovereignty about Church-Matters. But that was not privative, to deny the Pastors of the Church, or to bereave them of their Power; but Cumulative, to add the Imperial Power, which was of another kind, to the Spiritual, thereby to back their Acts, and to make them bind the faster. Thus, when they sent Count Candidianus to the Great Council of Ephesus, the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian declare in their \* Letter to the Council, That it was to keep good Order, and to see fair Debates; but*

*\* -- Καὶ μὴδ' αὖ μὲν ταῖς ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῶν δογμάτων γινομέναις ζηήσεσιν, κοινωνήσοι. Ἀδείκνυτον γὰρ τὸν μὴ τῶν καταλόγων τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων τυγχάνοντα, τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς σκέμμασιν ἐπιμίγνυσθαι, Concil. Ephesin. Part 1. p. 229. Ed. Bin. Tom. 2. Concil.*

*with*

with Orders not to intermeddle in determining Questions of Faith, and Ecclesiastical Matters, which, say they, is lawful only for the Bishops. And when the Emperor *Marcian* came in person, at the passing the Definitions of the Great Council of Chalcedon, \* it was not, as he tells them in his Speech to the Council, to make Demonstration of his own Power therein, but to give greater firmness to what they had done in the Exercise of theirs. Which he doth, by || Ratifying the same, by secular Penalties, as by Banishment of Citizens, Disbanding of Souldiers, and Deposition of Clergy, and by other Punishments; after the Determinations of the Council had been read, and the Bishops had owned, and subscribed the same, before him. When the Imperial Purple came to confirm a Pastoral Act, it gave a new Authority to that, which had Authority in it self before; or, as *Justinian* † speaks in his Confirmation of the Episcopal Sentence, or Anathema on *Zoaras*, which, says he, having a validity from it self, or Authenticalness of its own, the Crown makes yet more valid, or of more Authority, by adding to it a secular Penalty. The Episcopal or Spiritual Authority, is by too many unjustly slighted; and therefore the Secular Authority is both humbly call'd in, and piously comes in to its help, since those irreligious Contemners of the Spiritual Power, will stand more in awe of the Secular. \* Coming in, by their Secular Authority, to help and back the Church in those things, wherein men would otherwise contemn the Authority of the Bishops, as the Fathers express it in the Council of Carthage. So that the Imperial Power, even whilst employ'd about Church-Ministrations, all the time supposes, but doth not swallow up the Pastoral Powers: nor doth its Ecclesiastical Supremacy lye, nor was ever thought so to do, either by our Church, or by those Times whereto it refers, in their being vested with, or having a sovereign Disposal of the Powers of Orders. But,

2. Secondly, it lyes,

1. First, In retaining their civil Power over all Persons, whether Laymen or Ecclesiasticks. The Civil State, was first in Being; and men were Subjects of the State, when Christianity came to be propos'd to them, and planted among them. \* The Church is in the Common-wealth, not \* Non e-  
the Common-wealth in the Church, as *Optatus* says. And when men became nim Ref-  
publica  
est in Ecclesia, sed Ecclesia in Republica, id est, in Imperio Romano, *Optat.* l. 3. p. 64. Ed. Pat.

\* Ἡμεῖς γὰρ βασιλεύσαμεν τοῖς πρὸς Νομίνοις προδόντες, ἡ δὲ δυνάμεις ἐπιδείξειν ποιησάμενοι, παρῆναι τῇ συνόδῳ ἐδοκιμάσαμεν, &c. Conc. Chalced. Part. 2. Act. 4 p. 345. Tom. 3. Concil. Ed. Bin.

|| Ibid. p. 361.

† -- Ἡ κυρία καὶ αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔσαν, κυριότεραν ἐπὶ μάλλον ἢ βασιλεία ποιεῖ, καὶ τὸν συνελαύνοντα τῆς βασιλείας τούτης πόλεως, &c. Justin. Novel. 42. c. 3.

\* Παρὶ τῆς Βονησίας [ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς] τῇ κοινῇ μὲρ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν οἷς ἡ τ' ἐπισκοπὴν ἀνδραγαθία ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθ' ἑαυτὴν, Concil. Carthag. Can. 70.

Members, or Ministers of the Church, they did not thereby cease to be Subjects of the State, or owe ever the less Duty unto it. *Let every Soul be subject unto the Higher Power*, is meant of Ecclesiasticks,

\* *Kαὶ Ἀποστόλων*, &c. Chrysost. in loc.

as well as others: *It takes in all, \*tho' an Apostle, tho' an Evangelist, tho' a Prophet, or whosoever else*, as St. Chrysostom notes. And therefore Princes may lay their civil

Commands, and inflict their civil Punishments, upon Ecclesiasticks, as well as upon their other Subjects. They may put them under Fines, or Im-

\* *Act. 18.* prisonments, or banish them out of their Dominions, or any parts thereof, as \* *Claudius did the Jews from Rome*, or as † *Dimitrian did St. John into Patmos, where he wrote his Revelations*; and as *Constantinus and Valence did the Orthodox Bishops in the Arian Persecutions*. And true Pa-

\* *Alius in eam Patriam, unde extorris factus est, regreditur, ut deprehensus non jam quasi Christianus, sed quasi nocens pereat.* Cyp. Ep. 13. p. 29. 30. Ed. Ox.

stors are bound to submit to this, like as other Subjects are, either from Heathen, or Heretical Emperors, and even in hard and unjust Cases, as in the foresaid Instances. And \* *if any under sentence of Banishment, inflicted on certain Persons, not on the whole Cause, return into his own Country without Leave of the civil Power, if being caught, he suffer for it, he dies*

not as a Christian, but as a Malefactor, says St. Cyprian. So that Bishops and Ministers, are no exempt Persons, but are to own their Kings as their civil Sovereigns, and are as much bound to pay Obedience to their civil Laws, and are under the Cognizance of their civil Courts, as others are.

And this civil Subjection of Ecclesiastical Persons, against the Papal Exemptions thereof, is the main thing in the Ecclesiastical Supremacy claimed by our Kings. In the \* *Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth*, and in the † *Cannons of King James*, this Supremacy is called the highest Power under God, whereto all Men within the same Realms, by God's Law, owe most Loyalty and Obedience, afore and above all other Powers and Potentates in Earth. Her Majesty, say the \* *Injunctions* again, thereby neither doth, nor ever will challenge any other Authority, than was lately used, and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of Persons born within her Dominions, of what Estate, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, soever they be; so as no other Foreign Power, shall, or ought to have any superiority over them. By Supremacy, or chief Government, says the 37th. Article of Religion, we give only that prerogative, which we see to have been always given to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all States and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil Sword, the Stubborn and Evil-doers. And the Oath of Supremacy, as King

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## Chap. 2. Of the Kings Ecclesiastical Supremacy in our Church.

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\* James the First declared, only extended to the Kings Power of Judicature over all Persons, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical; excluding all foreign Powers and Potentates, to be Judges within his Dominions. All which, plainly make the Ecclesiastical Supremacy, to lye mainly in having Bishops and Ministers, or the Ecclesiastical State, who were broke off from it by the Papal Exemption, under the same common Obligation to the civil Sovereign with other Subjects, or under the Tye of civil Subjection.

In vertue of this civil power over their Persons, as his Subjects, he can command them faithfully to discharge their Duties, and Functions. And that, not only as Subjects, in civil Matters; but as Ministers, in divine Offices. For, as he is the civil Sovereign, the Temporal Magistrate is the Keeper of both Tables, being to keep his Subjects in Godliness, as well as in Honesty, as \* St. Paul says. And is to use the civil Sword, for sins against Religion, as well as for sins against the State; and, in his way, to punish Ministers, for Neglect or Abuse of their spiritual Functions, as well as for Breach of the civil Peace. Thus good Kings, as || *Hezekiah*, 18. 4. and \* *Josiah*, employed their temporal power, to cut off corrupt administrations, and to reform Abuses of Worship and Religious Offices, in the Jewish Church: As *Constantine*, and other good Christian Kings and Emperors did afterwards, in other Nations. And the 37th. Article of our Church declares, That by his Supremacy, the King with the civil Sword may restrain the stubborn and evil-doers, whether Laicks or Ecclesiasticks. And on this Account, *Constantine* \* calls himself the Minister of God, for the Correction and Punishment of wicked Bishops. And, at his Entertainment of the Bishops, tells them, † That God has appointed them the Bishops of things within the Church, and him the Bishop of things without it: and that it belongs to him, as Bishop of Bishops, to see they discharge their duties, and be pious. Thus, the Emperors, *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, say, That || God, by setting them to reign, had made them the Bond, both of the piety, and of the external welfare and security of those, who are subject to them, the connexion betwixt which two, their study was to preserve inviolable. And \* in this, Kings, saith *St. Austin*, according as God commands them, do serve the Lord as they are Kings, when they enjoyn good things, and prohibit evil things in their Kingdoms: And that, not only in Matters pertaining to humane society, but also in Matters pertaining to our Holy Religion.

ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθισταμένοι ἐπίσκοποι ἂν εἴπω, Euseb. de vita Constant. l. 4. c. 24. || βασιλεύειν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ θεοῦ, σύνδεσμός τε τῆς ὑπακοῆς εὐσεβείας τε καὶ εὐσεβείας τυγχάνοντες, ἀρραγὲς αἰεὶ τὸ προσφεύς τῶν οὐλάτωμεν, &c. Concil. Ephes. Part 1. c. 32. p. 225. Tom. 2. Con. Ed. Bin. \* In hoc enim Reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo servant in quantum Reges sunt, si in suo Regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam Religionem, Aug. contra Crescon. Grammat. l. 3. c. 5. Tom. 7. Ed. Col.



And thus, by means of his civil Power over Spiritual Persons, has the King the like Power over Spiritual Acts & Functions, viz. as he can require, and, by the civil Sword, compel them, whom Christ has empowered there, to in his Dominions, to exercise the same. I mean, to exercise them, according to the Rules of God's Word, and of their own Spiritual Function; his Power lying in calling them to do their duties, not to any Neglect or Breach thereof. As we see was observed, not only by the Godly Jewish Kings, but also by the Primitive Emperors, whose civil Laws and Edicts in these Matters, still followed the spiritual Rules and Duties, and were a secular Enforcement, to drive all Ecclesiasticks to keep them, not to Transgress them. \* Our Laws, do not disdain to follow the Sacred and Divine Canons; the civil power in these Matters, enforcing that which the Church had first prescribed, says the Emperor Justinian. And accordingly, in the Civil Law for Restraint of Excommunications, we † forbid our Bishops, saith he, to excommunicate any, without a just Cause be shewn for it. We forbid all Bishops and Presbyters, saith another Law, to exclude any from the Communion, before Proof of such a Cause, || for which this is commanded to be done by the Ecclesiastical Canons. So, by his Imperial Power over their Persons, commanding their Ministrations, and limiting them therein to their own Rules.

\* --Καὶ αὐ-  
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vel. 83.  
† Ἄνευ  
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μελέουσιν.

And thus the King, like as the *Jewish Kings*, and *Primitive Emperors* were, is *supreme* in these spiritual Acts and Administrations, *as in his Dominions*, they are all to be *sped and administer'd*, not by *independant Foreigners*, but by *his own Subjects*; or, as having the *supream earthly Command* of Bishops and Priests, who are bound in civil Obedience to him, as their *Temporal Sovereign*, to exercise them when he requires it. And this way, he can give *Final Justice* to all his Subjects, in all spiritual, as well as temporal Matters; having Authority to command his Bishops and Clergy, to do it in the one; as well as his Judges and temporal Ministers, to do it in the other. And by this power, of doing it by their

\* 24. H. Means or Ministrations, is his *Supremacy* set off. Thus, in the \* *Statute*  
3. c. 12. 1. for the *Restraint of Appeals*, the King is declared to be the *one supreme*  
*Head*, endowed with *plenary Power and Authority*, to render *Final Justice*  
*in all Causes*; because the *spirituality*, or his *Bishops and Clergy*, can *ad-*  
*minister and determine all that belongs to their spiritual Offices*; and the  
*Judges and other his temporal Ministers*, can do the like for *Trial of Pro-*

\* *Rex pecty, and Conservation of civil Peace. The Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters, \* doth not imply the power of the Keys, which he has not; habet, habentibus tamen, ut eis recte utantur, pro suo jure imperare potest, Mas. de Ministr. Angl. l. 3. c. 3. p. 271.*

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## Chap. 2. Of the Kings Ecclesiastical Supremacy in our Church.

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but he may command those who have them, to use them rightly, says Mr. Mason. This Supremacy is preserved, if he take care, that those, who have the power of Ecclesiastical Censures, do exercise them, † says Dr. Burhil. He has plenary power to render final Justice; that is, to receive the last Appeal of his own Subjects, without any fear of any Review from Rome, or at Rome, for all Matters Ecclesiastical and Temporal; Ecclesiastical, by his Bishops; Temporal, by his Judges, || says Bishop Bramhall. So that the Legal Supremacy of our Kings in spiritual Matters, lyes in their power of doing them all, (without any Interposition of Forreign Bishops who are none of their Subjects,) by their own Bishops and Clergy, whom they can command and compel to do their duties therein, as their civil Sovereigns. And this way, the civil Sovereignty doth not drown, or swallow up the spiritual powers of Ecclesiasticks; but supposes them all the while, peculiarly and immediately vested therewith. But only retains its own secular power over their Persons, as well as others; whereby it can oblige them to a due discharge of their sacred powers, according to the Rules of their spiritual Functions, as occasion requires.

† Of the Kings Supremacy in his Answer to Becanus. p. 22. & p. 244.

|| Bishop Bramhall's Just Vindication, &c. p. Op. 63. vid. & p. 230.

It lyes moreover;

2. Secondly, In the Subordination of Ecclesiastical Courts and Causes, wherein Ecclesiasticks are content to act subordinately, on the score of their secular mixtures and jurisdictions, as in Beneficiary Matters, Censures, and other things of that Cognizance. To give more leisure and encouragement to the Ministers of Religion, in attending their spiritual Administrations, the civil State has endowed their spiritual Cures, with temporal Benefices or Preferments. And to beget a greater Regard, and a more general and awful Observance of Ecclesiastical Determinations, the civil power, as I before observed, is annexed and mingled with the spiritual, in these Causes, and a Concurrence is therein made of Temporal and Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions.

The Matters cognizable there, are not only mere spiritual, but some of them of a temporal Nature. Such are all Causes Testamentary, or about Wills; the Causes of Matrimony and Divorces; and those about Right of Tythes, Oblations, and Obventions; \* the Knowledge whereof, by the goodness of Princes of this Realm, says the Statute for Restraint of Appeals, and by the Laws and Customs of the same, appertaineth to the spiritual Jurisdiction of this Realm.

\* Stat. 24. H. 8. c. 12. 2.

And the Canons and Rubricks, which are to rule all Proceedings, are

not only the *Prescriptions* of Bishops and Priests; but *Royal* and civil *Injunctions*. Like as also the *Antient Canons* were,

\* Θεσιζόμεν πάλιν τῶν νόμων ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς ἀρίστης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κανόνας, τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσάρων συνόδων ἐκτεθέντας, ἢ βεβαιωθέντας, &c. Justin. Novel. 131. c. 1.

|| τὰς δὲ δίκας κανόνας ἐκ ἐλαττοῦ τῶν νόμων ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐν ἡμετέροις βεβαιωταῖς νόμοις;---περὶ δὲ τῶν κανόνων κανόνας, τὸ τοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκτελεσθῶν νόμων, Cod. Justin. l. 1. tit. 3. l. 45.

by the piety of the *Primitive Emperors*. \* *Wedscrec*, that the holy *Ecclesiastical Canons*, either those passed in the four *General Councils*, or those confirmed by them, be in place of *Laws*, says the Emperor *Justinian*. || Our own *Laws*, will have the *Divine Canons*, not to be of less force or effect, than *Laws*,---and what the sacred *Canons* forbid, that also do our *Laws* coerce and abolish, says the *Code*. And as it was in the case of those *Antient Canons*, under those Emperors; so, in

case of ours too under our Kings, the *Judgments* and *Sentences* upon them, rest not in mere *Spiritual*, but draw on temporal *Effects* and *Incapacities*, which effect the *Sufferers* in their *Persons* and *Estates*, as well as in their *Spiritual Concerns*: As subjecting them to a *Writ of Imprisonment*, rendering them *unable to commence or carry on a Suit at Law*, or the like.

Now for the favour of this *State-Concurrence* in all these *Causes*, that under the *Union* of two such different *Powers* there may be no clashing, the Church submits to *act in subordination*, and the King, in all these *Cause* and mixt *Jurisdications*, is *supreme*. That is, no *Synod of Ecclesiasticks* is to meet for making *Canons* or *Constitutions*, but when, by *Writ*, he convenes them. Nor are any *Agreements* of theirs, when assembled, to be publish'd as *Canons* or *Ordinances*, till he approves or ratifies them. Nor any of those introduced formerly, to be executed and put in use, further than they consist with the *Kings prerogative Royal*, and with the *Laws, Customs, and Statutes of the Realm*: All which are provided for in the \* *Statute of Submission*. And when *Canons* are thus made by his *Ratification*, it submits also, that in certain *Cases*, which are declared by other *Acts*, they may be relaxed by his *Royal Dispensation*; and that, as in making *Canons*, so also in granting *Dispensations* from them, he shall be *supreme*. That no *Persons* shall be elected *Bishops*, of *beneficed* and temporally endowed Churches, but who have the *Kings Letters missive*, as is provided in \* another *Statute*, or who are of his *Nomination*. That when *Ecclesiasticks* sit to judge in their *Courts* by those *Laws*, all their *Proceedings* in that *Judicature* shall be subject to the *Kings Prohibition*, to stop their further hearing of a *Cause*, which, by *Allowance* or *Custom*, is of another *Cognizance*; or to his *Commission of Review*, upon *Appeals* made to him, after they have given sentence. So that in these *Courts*, there is a *subjection* and *subordination* to the King, both as to the *Laws* they proceed by, which are the *Kings Laws*, as not pa-

\* Stat.  
25. H. 8.  
c. 19.

\* Stat.  
25. Eliz.  
c. 29.

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sing, or being introduced, without his Approbation or Sufferance; and as to the Judgments there passed according to them.

And because of this subordination of the Bishops and Clergy, in their pure spiritual Jurisdictions, for the Civil Sovereigns addition of such Temporal or State Concurrence; the King is declared supream in all these Causes. Thus much is declared, in the Passages already mention'd from the Statutes settling the Kings Supremacy. And thus 'tis said in another \* Statute, of the Review of the Institution of a Christian Man, that King Henry 8th. set it forth as supream Head of the Church of England, because he call'd the Convocation together, to frame and publish it by his Consent. And thus in his \* Declaration prefix'd to the 39 Articles of Religion, King Charles the First sets forth his supreamcy over the Church, by this subordination of the Church-men, and because, in making any Canons or Constitutions, they must have his License for their Assenting, and their Orders and Agreements confirmed by his Approbation, and executed all with subordination, to the Laws and Customs of the Land, for preservation whereof they are subject to the Temporal Prohibition.

\* Stat.  
32. H. 8.  
c. 26.

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arise, about the External Policy, concerning the Injunctions, Canons, or other Constitutions whatsoever thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained Leave under our Broad Seal so to do; and we approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions, providing that none be made contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land. His Majesties Declaration before the 39 Articles of Religion.

And in respect of both these parts of civil power, viz: Both in having this civil command of spiritual persons, and this civil power over spiritual causes by reason of such secular mixtures, it lyes moreover in having the same,

3. Thirdly, in opposition and bar of all other earthly dependance, especially of all Foreign jurisdiction and appeals. He is the one Supream Head of all, both Spiritual and Temporal, next under God, saith the \* Statute for Restraint of Appeals. And the claim of Supremacy in the Queens injunctions, is so as no other Foreign Power, shall, or ought to have any Superiority over them. And the Thirty Seventh Article of Religion, the first of King James the Firsts Canons, and especially the Oath of Supremacy, doth most fully disclaim, and exclude all Foreign jurisdiction herein. And the extending of the Kings Power of Judicature over all Persons, Ecclesiasticks, as well as others, thereby, is for excluding all Foreign Powers from being Judges in our Kings Dominions, as we heard from King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance.

\* 24. H.  
8. c. 12.

The Foreign jurisdiction and Appeals particularly aimed at, is that, which was claimed here by the Popes of Rome. They had wrested from the Crown the foresaid Sovereignty, both over Ecclesiastical Persons, and Causes. For as to Ecclesiastical Persons, they claimed an exemption for them,



them, as not answerable in Civil Courts, but Cognizable only by themselves. And as to *Ecclesiastical Ministrations*, as back'd by secular benefices; and *Ecclesiastical Causes*, as mixt in the *Ecclesiastical Courts* with Civil Priviledges and Jurisdiction; they disclaimed subordination to the Crown, and asserted a supremacy to themselves therein. For they made themselves *suprem* here, in *investitures into benefices and preferments*; and to have the chief power, by their *Legates*, of *calling our convocations*; of *passing, and ratifying, all our Decrees, Canons, and Constitutions*; of *granting dispensations from them*; of *having their decrees take place, of the Prerogatives of the Crown, or of the Customs of the Realm*; of *holding courts*; and of *receiving Appeals from any of our spiritual courts, and judicatures, and the like*. All which civil powers over *Ecclesiastical Persons*, and subordination of *Ecclesiastical causes* proceeding by the foresaid mixture of secular fortifications, benefices, and jurisdictions; the *statutes, Articles, injunctions, and Canons* of this Church and Realm about *Supremacy, abolish in the Popes, and assert to the Crown*, to which they Anciently did, and of right should belong.

So that this *Sovereign Civil Power*, over all *Ecclesiastical Persons*, as their *subjects*; and this *Subordination of all Ecclesiastical Causes to it*, because of the *Concurrence and intermixture, of the foresaid civil priviledges and jurisdictions therewith*; and that *in opposition to the papal pretences in these points*; is the *Ecclesiastical supremacy vested in the King, by our Church, and Law*. The *Popes spiritual Usurpation upon this Church*, was shaken off, by asserting to the *Arch-bishop of Canterbury the Brittish Churches Ancient, and independant Primacy*. Which did Right to the King too; it being against his *Prerogative*, that any *Foreigner*, who doth not own himself to be one of his *Subjects*, should have any *Power in his Dominions*. And his *Civil Usurpation on the Crown, in respect to Ecclesiastical Persons, and Causes*, among its *Subjects*, was thrown out by *asserting of the Kings Supremacy*.

But when the *Supremacy* speaks such a *civil power over the persons of Ecclesiasticks*, as they are its *subjects*, and such *subordination of Ecclesiastical causes thereto*, as they are united to secular benefices and jurisdictions: Yet at the same time, as I have shewn, doth it disclaim all pretence to *meer spiritual powers, or to the Sovereign Disposal of the Powers of Orders*. Of it self, it can neither give, nor recall them. Nor stop the *Ministrations thereof*, in any of those *Cases* where *Christ* requires them. All it can do there, is to withdraw its *Civil incorporation*, from those who have these mere *spiritual powers*, and are bound, for the sake of *Religion* and of the *Souls of Men*, to proceed in the exercise thereof. But still, that exercise and administration, which hangs on anothers *Commission*, will go on upon its own bottom, and must be discharged as it can, under the opposition, instead of the former incorporation of state, or under a *civil Persecution*.

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And this continuance of such Ministrations in such Cases, notwithstanding the deposition of State, I think may fairly be concluded, from the Concessions of those, who have undertaken to plead for the Authority of State deprivations, and to press them on the suffering Clergy, at such times.

We are told by \* one from Mr. *Mason*, that a *state deposition of a Bishop*, is not by way of *Degradation*, from his orders, as if he had them not; but of exclusion, from the exercise thereof. And that not absolutely, as if he could exercise his office no where; but after a sort, that he should not do it, as to their subjects, nor in their dominions. And by || another, that a *state deprivation* doth not concern the Character, or Ecclesiastical Communion, as an Ecclesiastical Deprivation doth; but only concerns the exercise of his Episcopal Authority, in any Diocese within the Dominions of that State, or enjoying any Ecclesiastical Benefice in it.

\* Vindication of a Discourse against the New Separation, p. 11. || A Vindication of their Majesties

Authority to fill the Sees of the Deprived Bishops, p. 18, 19, 20. (or as they should be marked, p. 22, 23, 24.)

Now, since such *state deprivation* neither concerns the Character, nor the Communion of the Church; 'tis plain he is a Bishop still notwithstanding their deprivation; and such a Bishop, as, without any fault in Church Communion, all good Christians may Communicate with. And since his exercise of Episcopal Powers is thereby excluded, only from the Dioceses and subjects of their dominions; it is still the same it was, as to all other places. And what is the hinderance, of exercising the same still in those dioceses, and among that Kings Subjects? One reason already cited is, because he cannot exercise them in the incorporate way, or in enjoyment of any Ecclesiastical Benefice. But besides, another I conceive is suggested, viz. *Regard to state Authority, or civil obedience.* Though either the Faith, nor the Communion of the Church is here concerned; yet, says the Learned Author last mention'd, the Authority of the State is, which obliges both the Clergy, and Laity, in these Cases. So that although neither his powers are thereby vacated, nor their dependance and communion with him is broken off on other accounts; yet in Civil Obedience, it seems, by his account both Bishops and People, on such state deprivation, are bound to acquiesce.

\* P. 20.

But now, if they are left in full Possession of their spiritual powers, and of the communion of the Church; 'tis plain they cannot be debarr'd of their Ministrations in the foresaid Cases, nor the people of their attendance on them, in any regard to secular inhibitions, or to shew Civil obedience. For we must never hear Kings against Christ, or obey them, when they bar us of doing what he bids us do. And these Ministrations, requires and calls for in the aforesaid Cases, as I have shewn; and so for the peoples communion with, and attendance on them. And it matters not,

not, that they cannot Minister any longer in the incorporate way, or under shelter of Civil Laws, and enjoyment of benefices. For true Ministers of Christ, and of Souls, must despise benefices and secular incorporations, when they come in competition with his service, and Minister his word and worship, at their hazard, and under persecutions.

Besides, if, as he owns, such deprivation doth not affect the *Communion of the Church*, it leaves the subjects of those dioceses still under the same Religious and Church Principles, of dependance and communion with their Bishops, as they were before it. For, though the state should not meddle therein, the Church has Principles of this dependance and communion, of its own. Christ requires his Church should be one, and that is by adhering to their Bishops, whom he has made the Heads of Union. And these, it seems, the deprivation of state doth not at all Cancel, *only the Authority of state, as is \* said, but not Church Communion* being concerned therein. So that such Bishops deprived by the state, continue still to be Christs Bishops and Heads of Union in those dioceses, according to his Rules and Principles of Union. And then, how shall a mere command of state, dissolve the tie made by him, or break communion betwixt their Bishop and them? Whilst Christ, by conscionable obligations of Church Unity, bids them adhere to their Bishops, and keep one with him; must they give ear to the state, that bids them divide from him? I think on second thoughts, he will not make Church Union, or the dependance of people on their Bishops, so unsettled or precarious a thing, as either to have no fixt and conscionable principles engaging and holding all good Members thereto, of its own; or to have it in the power of a secular state, when it pleases to set them aside, and over-rule them.

\* P. 20.

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### CHAP. III.

*Remarques on the Preceding Account of the Force of State-Deprivations, and instances of Deprivations alledg'd to the contrary, consider'd, and clear'd up.*

FROM what I have said in the foregoing Chapters, about the power of the Civil State, and the effect of its Deprivations, I think it may appear, that the Bishops and Ministers of Christ continue still invested with their Ministerial Powers, and can receive no discharge from the exercise thereof, in the formention'd Cases, by any State Deprivations.

And of this I observe, from what has been hitherto discoursed,

1. First, That this is not to deny the Civil Power, the Cognizance of Bishops and Ministers, in Civil matters. Allegiance, 'tis true, is a civil matter, and most nearly concerns the civil peace. Indeed, it is not only Civil, but also Religious. For when men are requir'd to Swear it, and in all Churches to pray conformably to it, Solemn Oaths and Prayers, are most sacred and Religious Acts. And Allegiance in it self is a moral duty, for due payment whereof, all stand answerable to God in the last judgment; as well as a civil, or state-duty, for which they are answerable to the state in judicatures of this world. But it is such a matter of Religion, I say, as is also a civil matter, subject to civil Cognizance, or a point of State too.

And if this is refused to a Rightful state, it is not only an offence against Morality and Religion, which spiritual Judicatures and Synods may punish with Canonical Depositions: But also an offence against the state, which such Rightful state may punish by state punishments, as it may all other state offences; and in Ecclesiasticks, when they are guilty thereof, as in all other persons. And among these punishments, by *Deprivation*, though not of mere spiritual powers, (the state having no Authority to take away those mere spiritual powers, which it never gave,) yet of all that is Temporal in Church-Ministrations, so as that such refusers shall no longer hold benefices and preferments, or state endowments. Yea, and even as to those mere spiritual powers, it may make them of themselves to forbear any further exercise thereof, to keep state-favors and endowments to the Church, when their deprivation is in a case, that concerns only their own personal rights and privileges, but not the Truths or cause of Christ, as was before observed.

But if at any time, or in any Kingdom, this should be refused to an Usurping State, which has no Legal Right; but which calls for this Allegiance, Oaths, and solemn Prayers and Religious services conformable



ble thereto against him who has the Right: Then such refusal, is neither a Religious, nor a Civil offence; neither against God, nor Gods Vicegerent, Divine or Humane Laws; but a due obedience to both. And this brings on the Case of all the foresaid immoralities, Damning Religion, and endangering Souls; wherein faithful Bishops and Clergy, whatever they incur by standing to their Spiritual Ministrations, must not let them fall in regard to any Deprivation of Usurping Powers. Nay, nor in regard to the most rightful States, should they issue out against them state-deprivations, to stop their Ministrations against any such like immoralities, or other irreligious and endangering ways.

And this Limitation, of the regard they ought to have to his deprivation, is not to deny the Rightful Civil Sovereign, any part of his just power over Ecclesiasticks. But only to deny him such a power, as would leave our Saviour Christ himself, who is his Master as well as theirs, to have no power over them. Or such a power, as should enable him to discharge them, of what Christ has given in charge to them; to take away what powers he confers, or to loose what he has tyed on. But under all this discharge of their foresaid Ministrations, notwithstanding his inhibitions and deprivations, it allows the Civil Magistrate as much Power over their persons, to mulct, banish, or put them to death, on just cause, as they are his Subjects, as over any others. And to have power also over the mixt way of administrations, so as to be able to deprive them, though not of all exercise of their spiritual powers, yet from holding or exercising them with Temporal jurisdictions, effects, and priviledges, after the way of an incorporate Church. And to have those other foremention'd Prerogatives, of conveneing Synods, passing Canons, sending prohibitions to stop any process in prejudice of the Prerogative, or of the Laws, &c. Which, for the favor and continuance of those secular mixtures, have accrued by incorporation, and belong to Christian Kings. And these things, which are allow'd, are as much, as any of them can claim of Ecclesiasticks, as they are Kings. And, on the other side, those things, which are denyed, are such, as they would abhor to challenge or desire, who would own any subjection to Christ, or bound their pretensions as Christian Kings.

2. Secondly, nor is it to set the Church above the State, as the Papal Usurpation pretended to do. But only to set Almighty God, and his blessed Son Jesus Christ, above it. Not leaving subjects, whether Laicks or Ecclesiasticks, in compliance with any the most rightful state, to disobey God. Nor Ministers, to let fall any Services and Ministrations of Religion, or cure of Souls, which Christ calls them to exercise; yea, not only when the state is consenting, but when it gain-says it, and doth all it can, either to disable or discourage them from it; he not having thought fit to stand to the courtesy of any civil state, whether or no

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the Ministry, of saving Souls should be prosecuted, and whether he should be served, and have a Church on Earth.

But at the same time, it sets God and Religion, above their Power ; it subjects all, both Laicks and Ecclesiasticks, to the same in other things. Allowing every rightful civil state, the chief civil power over all Ecclesiastical Persons. And the chief civil power over all Ecclesiastical Causes, so far forth, and so long, as they are mixed and compounded with civil benefices and jurisdictions. And a civil power to compel Church Men by civil penalties, to do the duty of their Spiritual Ministrations ; and to hold them under a necessity, of *not resisting by Arms*, but of suffering with patience under them, when they punish and persecute them, not for breaking, but for faithfully performing of the same. And this is to leave the civil power, to be chief in all civil matters, and to have several Prerogatives of Sovereignty in spiritual, so long as they proceed with civil mixtures : That is, to be supream in all, which it can call its own. Though at the same time it is not to be held superior to Christ, nor must be thought intrusted with the Supreme Disposal of the matters of Religion, wherein men are empower'd of Christ by another sort of Commission.

And from all these, 'tis plain, that it is no Revival of the *abolished Papal Usurpations*. For these, lay not in the Bishops asserting, as is aforesaid, of their own pure spiritual powers ; or of their own indefeasible obligations, notwithstanding any state-inhibitions and deprivations, to exercise them for the service of Religion and the Church, as Christ requires they should, in the foremention'd, and other like Cases. For this is no more, than has been done by the Holy Apostles, and by all faithful Bishops and Ministers, in all Ages. But in their claiming an independancy on the state, in the exercise of spiritual powers and Ministrations, mixed and endowed with the horrowed adjuncts of secular benefices and jurisdictions. And in their professing a dependance therein upon the Pope, seeking to him for investitures and confirmations, and making him the last judge by Appeals : As also depending on him, for conveneing Synods, for passing and confirming Canons, and granting dispensations from them, and for other Matters, which, for their civil endowments of Churches, were granted to Christian Princes, and by incorporation accrued to the Crown. And Lastly, in their Challenging an Exemption of their persons from Civil Cognizance, so as not to be answerable in Civil Courts, and Coercible there by civil penalties, even for state-matters and offences. And the Retrenching of these Usurpations, was the business of our *Reformers*. But as for the independance of the Ecclesiasticks mere spiritual powers, and their obligations to exercise them in any Case, as may answer the Command of *Jesus Christ*, and not the contrary inclination or inhibition of the Civil Magistrate, they were

as far from intending, as from needing, to Reform it. Yea, soon after, they were most glorious Asserters thereof, in all their Ministrations for the service of Souls, and for the support of Truth; which they discharged against the deprivations and inhibitions of the state, as *Confessors* and *Martyrs*, during all the persecutions of *Queen Marys* Reign.

3. *Thirdly, Nor is this to mistake, or to over-look the condition of an incorporate Church:* But only not to over-value the Civil Benefits of Incorporation; and at the same time to under-value their Obligations, to Christ, to the Ministeries of Religion, and to the Souls of Men. It is necessary that Pastors and People, should keep obedient, and true to Christ: But it is not necessary, that they should keep in the favour of Princes, and continue a Church incorporate. Nay, it is necessary they should cheerfully take up the Cross, and be content to be a Church persecuted, when they can no longer enjoy the secular benefits of Incorporation, without yielding to an irreligious and ill Ministration; nor hold on Ministering to the necessary service of Souls, and of pure Religion, without incurring Persecution. For then, all Church-men of any Fidelity or Conscience, must shew themselves Ministers of Christ, not of Princes; and Guides, that watch for Souls, not for Benefices, and secular accessions: And, like their Great Master, and all good and holy Bishops, who were call'd by him, as we all are, to spiritual Ministeries, under whatever Persecutions of Princes, despise all state-favors and preferments in this world, in comparison of fulfilling that Spiritual Ministry and most sacred Trust, which they have received from the Lord, and whereof one day they must give a most strict account.

And therefore it is a very ill-grounded reasoning, which the aforesaid Author of the *Vindication of their Majesties Authority* &c. uses, to Authorize the deprivation of suffering Bishops at such times, for state-matters, by a mere Act of State, \*thinking it well proved, if it is as certain and evident, as that the Church is, and must be incorporated into the State. For in the aforesaid Cases, for the service of Christ, and the sake of Religion, and of Souls, the Church is bound to break with the State, and to lay aside all thoughts of continuing incorporated, and submit to be persecuted. It is then, call'd to bear Christs Cross, for its steadfastness in his Service and Ministrations; not to seek or court state-favors, by ceasing to Minister what is good, or consenting to Minister what is ill, in compliance with Princes. And if, instead of being certain, and evident it must, 'tis certain and evident the Church must not be any longer incorporate, when it cannot purchase it, but on these Terms: Then in all the aforesaid Cases, there is an end of all Arguments to perswade acquiescence, for the preservation of the incorporation of Churches in Christian Kingdoms.

\*P. 17.

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But though this Principle, of *Faithfully exercising their pure spiritual Ministrations in the foresaid Cases*, without accepting any discharge thereof from mere State-deprivations, excludes all over-rateing of civil incorporation, or placing the Favor of Princes above the Favor of God, and benefices and preferments above the interest of Religion and of Souls. Yet doth it, at the same time, allow to an incorporate state, all that really doth belong to it. And therefore in these Ministrations, after deprivation by a rightful state, it claims nothing, that came to Church-men by incorporation. But its Spiritual Ministrations, Christs Church then discharges, without the encouragement of state-benefices and preferments; without claiming the convenience of the establish'd places, for a free holding of its Religious Assemblies; or the guard and assistance of any of the foremention'd Civil Laws, jurisdictions, or other secular mixtures and state accessions, for the strengthening and furtherance of its exercise of any spiritual Functions. And what more should they look at in this *state of incorporation*, than to see, that as they do not let fall any spiritual service, which was not given up, nor can be stopped thereby: So, when devested thereof, that they do not challenge any worldly benefices, powers, or other endowments, which are dependant thereupon.

And this is not to make the claims and exercise of Ecclesiastical Powers by Bishops and Pastors, *the same in all points at this day in an incorporate Church, as they were by the Ancient Canons, whilst the Church was separate from the state, under the Gentile Persecutions*. It asserts them the same, as to Ministring all that is necessary in Religion, and in Care of Souls; which the Pastors are as much empowerd, and as much obliged to look to, under incorporation, as before it. And to be the same also in other points, given up and accruing to the State at the incorporation of the Church, as *Naming of Bishops, Conveneing them in Synods, Ratifying of Canons, Dispensing with them*, and the like; after once a rightful state breaks the incorporation, and puts the true Church from state-protection and endowments, into a state of persecution. For then, the Church and State are divided again, as they were in the days of the Ancient Canons; and so they may be free, as Bishops then were, to exercise those powers by the Rule of those Canons, as they can, and as in prudence they shall see cause. But whilst the protection and incorporation holds, for the sake whereof it laid down its claim to those powers, and suffer'd them to become the States-Prerogatives; the Bishops and Ministers are not to pretend to them. And so, whilst the Church enjoys such incorporation, our own Church, by its *Articles and Canons*, disclaims the exercise of these powers by it self, and confirms them to the Crown, as I formerly observed.

Thus are the Recognitions, which Ecclesiasticks ought to make of the  
*Supremacy*



*Supremacy of Princes*, and all the Regard they ought to bear to the incorporation of the Church, fairly consistent with their Faithful discharge of their Spiritual Ministrations, after the State has deprived them, in the foresaid Cases. They stand bound to Christ there, to exercise the same, by manifold obligations, as I have shewn: And no deprivations of Princes, though they be Sovereign Governors of all their Subjects, and have endowed and incorporated the Church, can disable, or discharge them from it.

And from this state of these matters, it may be easy to clear and take off the Force of *these instances*, which are brought of *state-d. privations without the concurrence of Ecclesiastical Synods*, and to shew they are of no force in the foresaid Cases.

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dication  
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¶ p. 23, 24,  
25, 26.  
The instances chiefly insisted on, are the *Deposition of Abiathar by Solomon*; and the frequent, sometimes *Annual depositions of their High-Priests by the Romans*, when *Judea fell into their Hands*; the *depositions of the Patriarchs of the Greek Church, by the Turks*; and the *deprivation of Queen Maries Popish Bishops, by a commission of State, pursuant to an Act of Parliament, without a Synod, at the beginning of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth*.

1. First, as for *Abiathar*, whom, for *conspiring with Adonijah*, *Solomon* is said to have thrust out from being Priest unto the Lord, 1 King. 2. 27. it doth not appear, that *Solomon* did remove him from the dignity and office of High Priest, but only from the exercise thereof. For after this sentence was passed upon *Abiathar*, and after *Joab* the General also, his complice and conspirator, had been sentenced and suffer'd death, and *Benajah* was made General in his place, 1 King. 1. 28. 34, 35: *Abiathar* is still reckon'd as Partner with *Zadock*, in the High-Priest-hood, 1 King. 4. For so, in the reckoning up of *Solomons Officers*, when *Benajah* the Son of *Jehojadah*, was over the Host, 'tis added, and *Zadock* and *Abiathar* were the Priests, v. 4.

And as for the debarring him the Exercise of his High-Priests Office, that was the natural, and inseparable consequent, of his Banishment from Jerusalem to Anathoth for his Life. For the exercise of that Office, was local, and fixed to Jerusalem and the Temple. In the Temple were all the Priests tyed to officiate, whose Ministrations he was to direct; and in that was the Holy of Holies, \* whereinto once a year he himself in Person, and he alone, was to enter, and offer the Blood of Expiation: and there was the Mercy Seat, before which he was to stand with the Urim and Thummim, to consult God upon occasion. The Exercise of which Ministrations, with others, required his Personal Residence, and could not be discharged by him living in another place. So that the banishing him from Jerusalem, by mere natural consequent, without need of spiritual Jurisdiction, excluded him from the Exercise of the

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the *High-Priests-Office*. And this Banishment, Solomon inflicted on him as his civil Sovereign, for his Trayterous Conspiracy with *Adonijah*; and on like Cause, any other lawful Sovereign may do the same. And without doubt, he not only consented to this Amotion, but was thankful for it, and that, instead of being sent to *Anathoth*, he was not sent out of the World, as by Law *\* his Fact deserved*. So that *Abiathar* had nothing to contest in his Case, nor any mind to do it; being justly lyable to suffer so much more at the hand of the civil Power, than it was pleased to inflict on him.

\* 1 Kin.  
2. 26.

And then, as for *Zadock*, who held the *High-Priesthood* in his Room, and whilst he was living; that doth not appear to have been by a *New Creation*. For before this extrusion of *Abiathar*, he had been created *Partner, Vicar, or Suffragan* with him in the *High-Priests-Office*, in *Dauids* time. Thus, in the reckoning up of *Dauids Officers*, they are put together as filling this place. *Sheva was Scribe, and Zadock and Abiathar were the Priests*, 2 Sam. 20. 25. And *hast thou not there with thee, Zadock and Abiathar the Priests*, says *David* to *Hushai*, when, in his flight from *Absalom*, he sent him back into the City, to defeat the Council of *Achitophel*, 2 Sam. 15. 35. & chap. 17. 15. And in carrying back the Ark into the City, *David* gives command to *Zadock the Priest* about it, 2 Sam. 15. 25, 27. and the Text adds, *Zadock therefore and Abiathar carryed the Ark of God again to Jerusalem*, joyning them as Partners in this great Act of the Pontifical Charge, v. 29. He also commits to *Zadock the Priest*, the anointing and proclamation of *Solomon*, which was another Act thereof, 1 King. 1. 32, 34, 38, 39. And this is plainly asserted by *Josephus*, who *\* says*, *\* Antiq. l. 8. c. 1.* That *Zadock was first created High-priest, in the Reign of David*: And therefore, on *Abiathars* exclusion by *Solomon*, that *Zadock* only came in to have the *High-priesthood*, and to act therein alone. He was then *Sagan, or Suffragan, and Vicar* to *Abiathar*, as *\* Grotius*, and *¶ Vatablus* *\* In 2 Sam. 15. 27. & 1 King. 1.* conceive.

When *Abiathar* therefore, by his Banishment for Life, in just Punishment of his Treason, was incapacitated for any further Exercise of his *High-priests-office*, on such debarring of his Pontifical Exercise, there was no new Ordination of another into his Place. But *Zadock*, who had been created his Partner in the Priesthood before, on his Partners Loss of this Exercise, was to exercise the whole himself. So that the Authority of a Deprivation of State, to unmake one, and to make another, to be a Bishop in their dominions during his Life, is ill-fetch'd from this Instance. For neither doth *Abiathar* plainly appear, to have been despoyled of the Honour of the High-priesthood, (tho' by Banishment for Life, he was of the Exercise thereof,) by *Solomon*: Nor *Zadock*, to have been first advanced and created High-Priest by him; but to have been Ordained thereto by the spiritual Powers of the *Sanctuary*, *bedrim*,

\* In  
2 Sam. 15  
27. &  
1 King. 1.

¶ In  
1 King. 4.  
4.

\* Vid. *bedrim*, to \* whom that Ordination and Investiture did belong, in Dr. Light. *vids* Time.

Temple. Besides,

Serv. c. 3.

p. 905.

Tom. 1.

Op.

\* Antiq. frequent Changes among them, sometimes Annual, as \* *Josephus* notes: 1. 18. c. 3.

2. Secondly, in these alledged State-deprivations of the Jewish High-priests, either of *Abiathar* by *Solomon*, or, after they came under Roman Subjection, of the Chief-priests by the Roman Procurators, who made such frequent Changes among them, sometimes Annual, as \* *Josephus* notes: In all these State-deprivations of Jewish High-priests, I say, there was only a change of Persons; but Matters of Religion, went on in every thing the same, and Men were taught the same doctrines, and trained up in the same Practices, and held on in the same Prayers, Sacrifices, & Temple, & Synagogue-Service, under both. And where it doth not affect the state of Religion, or the interest of Souls, but only their own personal Claims and Priviledges; God's faithful Ministers may be free, as has been observed, to secure protection and civil benefits to the Church, by not breaking with the State, but acquiescing under its deprivations. But what voluntary deference were thus payable to a deprivation of State, in a case which doth not touch Religion, or the Souls of Men; must not be expected in other cases, which do touch, and damnify and endanger both. And thus it is in the fore-mentioned cases, wherein I have been asserting the necessity of holding on their spiritual Ministrations, and not yielding to be stop'd thereof by any State-deprivations.

3. And this also clears the Instance of the submission of the Greeks, in the frequent deprivations of their Patriarchs, by the Turkish Governours. The Benefits of Incorporation, which they propose to secure thereby, are not the most tempting; lying not so much in being priviledged and benefited by the State, as in not being persecuted, but tolerated under it. And their submission, for keeping on this State-benefit, such as it is, is not without detriment to the Church, (tho' their breaking with the State, they fear would be more detrimental,) the

*Turks*, as learn'd Travellers inform us, \* making the new Advancements for Money, to be levied on the Church by the New Patriark, to the countenance and growth of Great Corruption, and

to the bringing of the Church in debt. But as to the course of Religious Ministrations, they are the same under both Patriarchs. Religion, or the Word, and Prayers, and Sacraments, are administer'd alike without Alteration; and the Souls under their Charge, are fed with the same Doctrines both of Faith and good Life, and are nursed up in the same Practices, and serve God in the same Prayers and publick Offices, in both cases. And therefore, those depofed Patriarchs, are not driven, by insisting on their spiritual Powers and Ministrations, to break this partial Incorporation, such as it is, for the support of pure Faith, Worship and Practice, or for the

Dr. Smith de Ecclesiæ Græcæ statu hodierno. p. 52, 53. And Sir George Wheeler's Travels. l. 2 p. 195.

the Interest of Religion and of Souls; as I have shewn true and faithful Pastors are in the fore-mentioned cases.

4. The Fourth and Last Instance, is of *Queen Maries Popish Bishops*, deposed by a Commission of the *Queens Council*, without a competent and lawful Synod, and principally for a *State-crime*, viz. *refusing the Oath of Supremacy*, which was made a cause of deprivation by a preceding Act of her Parliament, under *Queen Elizabeth*: And of our *Reformed Bishops coming into their Sees*, upon such deprivation, during the others Lives.

As to this Case of the *Marian Bishops*, or of other *Popish Bishops* under *Edward the sixth*, Two Things are to be Noted in their Removal and Ejection out of their Dioceses. One is, from the *Temporalities*, the Benefices and Preferments thereof. And these temporal endowments, as I have observed, are directly subject to the temporal Power. So that the *Act of Parliament*, and the *Proceedings of the Council*, and the *Commission of the lawful State*, took away all Claim to the *Temporalities*, and deprived them of their Bishopricks, as they were *Temporal Free-holds*.

The Other is, from the *Spiritual adherence and dependance of the People upon them*, as on *Heads of Church-Unity and Communion*, for *Religious Ministrations*. And this, there was no need for the State to deprive the *Popish Bishops* of; for they had already deprived themselves of it, by their own Corruptions, both in Doctrines, and Devotions. Adulterations of Religion, and corrupt Ministrations, of the Word, of Prayers, and Sacraments, break the Ligaments, which tie on People to this adherence to any Bishops or Pastors; yea, though they were Apostles themselves. *Though we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have Preached unto you, let him be \* Anathema or accursed*, saith *St. Paul*, *Gal. 1. 8.* Or, instead of sticking to his Communion, break off from it, and have no more Religious Commerce with such, than was to be held with those, whom the Synagogue or Church had Anathematized or cut off: *'Αναθημα*, as he \* elsewhere uses it, and in the *Ecclesiastical Style*, speaking one excommunicate, for so we Christians are wont to call a Sentence against the speakers of impious things, † says *Socrates*. When therefore any Bishops and Pastors, instead of Heading Christian Truths, appear at the Head of Unchristian Errors; the People are discharged from their obligation and dependance upon them, and are to unite themselves, as they can, to others, who still keep firm to that necessary Gospel-Truth and Worship, which they have forsaken, as shall be shewn more fully || afterwards. And this was done by the *Popish Bishops*, who fed the People with false Doctrines, and polluted Prayers and Ministrations; which left no need of any thing more to deprive them of the Peoples Communion and Dependance, these *Papal Corruptions of Religious Ministrations*, being enough to discharge and drive them away of themselves.

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\* 'Αν-  
θημα ἔστω  
\* Rom.  
9. 3. vid.  
Theod.  
in loc. &  
Chrysost  
† ὁ ἄνθρωπος  
&c. Soc.  
Hist Eccl  
1. 7. c. 34.  
p. 377.  
|| Chap.  
3. & 4.  
Part 3.



So that the Reformed Bishops, when they were set at the Heads of those Diocesses, call'd none away, nor made them break off, from any just and due spiritual dependance on their former Bishops, whose own Heretical Doctrines and Corrupt Ministrations, had made the People cease from depending any longer in Conscience upon them. They wanted only to be lawfully empowered, and regularly ordained themselves, by Episcopal Imposition of Hands; as all those reformed Bishops plainly were: and the People were free from any Obligations to the Old Ones because of their Errors, and corrupt and dangerous Ministrations; & both lawfully might unite themselves to them, and were in duty bound so to do. And thus, coming to Head a People, whose dependance was broke off from others, by their spiritual corruptions and depravations of Religion; they were no spiritual Intruders. And coming into Benefices and Temporalities, made vacant by the deprivation of a Lawful State; they were guilty of no civil Usurpation and Injustice. And this is enough, to justify the Advancement of those first Reformers: That where Bishops are Orthodox, and deprived for their adherence to Truth and Righteousness, both in their private Practice, and publick Ministrations, the People are still left spiritually to depend on them, and are not to be taken off by any deprivation, though of the most rightful state, as in the above-mentioned Cases.

'Tis true, as to the *Popish Bishops* themselves, they thought otherwise of their own Worship and Doctrines, and took them for Christian and Gospel-ways and Truths, not for Anti-Christian Corruptions. And had they really been, what they thought, as they were not but quite contrary, it had been their duty to go on in their Pastoral Cures and Ministrations, with Persecutions, for all their deprivations. And so we ourselves should have thought, at least we all seem as if we should, if, by Gods Providence, the civil State had gone on to deprive our reformed Bishops, for sticking to the worship and doctrines of the Reformation, and had set up Popish Bishops in their Places. Notwithstanding which, I suppose both our faithful Prelates and People, instead of silently acquiescing, would have gone on ministring and communicating, in the reformed worship and doctrine of this Church.

But whatever they thought of these things, or how consonant or disagreeing soever their Actings were to their own Apprehensions in this case; it suffices for justification of our Reformed Bishops advancement to their Sees, without their being deprived by competent and lawful Synods, which is objected as a thing most exceptionable therein, and as seeming most to deviate from Ecclesiastical Rule, that in reality they were not Orthodox. And that, for this want of Orthodoxy, without any need of recourse to the Authority of mere State Deprivations, to take off People from a spiritual Adherence and Communion with their Bishops.

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the People, before they could have a Synodical Deprivation, were loose from them, and at liberty to unite themselves to the Orthodox Reformers in their Room.

CHAP. IV.

*Of Deprivations by Synods in the foresaid Cases.*

And thus, I think it may sufficiently appear, how the manifold obligations, which are shewn above to lye on Faithful Bishops and Ministers, not to suppress, but to exercise their spiritual ministrations in the foresaid Cases, are not set aside, or barr'd, by any inhibition or deprivation, though of the most Lawful Civil State. They will do it with more ease and worldly encouragement, when the State tolerates, and much more when it fortifies and furthers them therein. But they are not at liberty to give it off, but must go on exercising the same, when it is more troublesome, and when the State gain-says, and puts them under persecution for so doing.

And thus it is, where the State will Act apart, and proceed *without a Synod* in depriving Bishops, and in discharging the Ecclesiastical Communion, and dependance of the people, Spiritually related, and united to them.

But Deprivation of Bishops, who are Spiritual Powers; is more ordinarily by a *Synod of Bishops*, who are a Spiritual Judicature. Great Reason there is, for the Deprivation of Bishops, to proceed in this course. The Civil-State, indeed, comes in, by Reason of Civil Accessions and Endowments, which strengthen and encourage the spiritual ministrations. But these Civil Accessions, are but Accessories and Appendages; and their spiritual powers, are the Principal in their Ministrations, and in Church Communion and dependance on them. And therefore the removing of their ministrations, and of the Communion and dependance of the Church thereupon, is never so fitly, and fully attempted, as by spiritual judicatures, who, being spiritual persons, have more directly to do with Church-Communion, and spiritual powers. And accordingly, this has still been the course of the most Pious Princes, who have reserved the deliberations about Religion and Church matters, and the Depositions of Bishops, (which so closely affects Church Communion,) to *Convocations and Synods of Bishops and Clergy*. And when these proceed to sentence, it more directly affects the concerned parties: Church Communion, and Church Governors, being more directly under the Church-mens Cognizance; and not only indirectly and by the by, as it may ingage the deprived persons, when not bound to it otherwise, to yield and acquiesce in voluntary compliance for civil interests.

But ſuppoſe a Concurrence of both theſe powers, and that the deprivation of the Rightful State is confirmed by Synodical Concurrences: Yet I obſerve in the laſt place, that *this Deprivation by Synods, is not ſufficient to bar or diſcharge Biſhops or Miniſters, from the foreſaid Exerciſe of their Spiritual Miniſtrations, in the above mention'd Caſes.*

*Biſhops and Metropolitans, are not more ſubject and dependant on Synods; than Presbyters and people are on their Biſhops: Our Lord himſelf, and his Holy Apoſtles, having appointed Biſhops in his Church, and call'd for our ſubjection and obedience to them. But this ſubmiſſion of Priests and people to their Biſhops, is with a Salvo to their Holy Religion, and its Articles and Interests. And if any Biſhops go againſt the Truths, or Laws of Chriſt, or againſt the intereſts of Souls, and of True Religion, we are not to follow them, or to depend on them therein. To ſtick to any neceſſary Chriſtian Doctrines, Worſhip, or Practices, Chriſts Faithful people and Miniſters muſt break even with their own Biſhops; holding even them Anathema, as St. \* Paul directs, when they would lead them contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, as*

\* Gal. 1. 8.  
\* Part 3.  
c. 3. & 4.

I noted before, and ſhall ſhew more fully \* afterwards. And ſo muſt they with any other Biſhops, or Number and Synods of Biſhops, in like Caſe.

All Exerciſe and Adminiſtration, of Church Authority and Jurisdiction, is tyed to Rules. Not only to Rules, of the Churches own making, or *Eccleſiaſtical Canons*; but above all, and in the firſt place, to the Rules laid down by Chriſt himſelf. And all the validity of Church Acts in way of external judicature, in Synods, or otherwiſe; is ſo far, as they go by them, or do nothing againſt them.

Thus it is, in *Decreeing Rites and Ceremonies, or Determining Controverſies of Faith*; wherein, though the Church has Authority, yet is it thus limited, and has no Authority, as our Church \* Declares, to ordain any thing contrary to Gods word. Even general Councils, are bounded by this Limitation, and things ordained by them, \* ſay the Thirty Nine Articles again, as neceſſary to Salvation, have neither ſtrength, nor Authority, *unleſs it may be declared that are taken out of Holy Scriptures.*

\* Article, 20.  
\* Article, 21.

And thus it is alſo in *Matter of Cenſures, or Eccleſiaſtical Sentences* judicially paſt therein upon perſons, whether Laicks, or Eccleſiaſticks. We, in the \* Exerciſe of our Apoſtolical Power, can do nothing againſt the Truth, or in puniſhing and Cenſuring any for Faithful obſervance thereof; but all our Power is for the Truth, and to be exerciſed in its behalf, by puniſhing and not ſparing, not thoſe who ſtand to, but thoſe who defect from it, 2 Cor. 13. 8. When the Church ſpeaks to us in External Judicatures, we muſt hear it, as our Lord † orders. But we muſt hear it ſpeaking under Chriſt, never againſt him. So that if it Excommunicates any, for ſticking firm to any part of his Holy Religion, with

\* Ver. 2.  
\* Mat. 18. 17.

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whom, for that very adherence sake, he requires his Faithful Follow-  
ers, to hold Communion; Or, if it deprives, or discharge any Mini-  
sters, from Administring the same, in any case where he has charged  
them to keep on that ministraton: Its power here, is set up against  
him; and its Acts, have no Power to bind those, who are concerned in them.

Thus it is, when it sh<sup>all</sup> Excommunicate any, for adhering to any neces-  
sary Christian Doctrines, Worship, or Practices. For all, who would hold  
to Christ, must Neglect such Censures, and, though any Church or  
Synod throws such persons out of its Communion, they are joyfully to  
well come and receive them into theirs. For, when our \*Lord Author  
izes, and gives validity to Church Censures, saying they shall be bound in  
Heaven, and bidding us look on all who will not hear the Church, as Hea-  
thens and Publicans: He limits this validity to those censures, which pass  
upon men, not for any parts of righteousness, but for real offences. If  
by Brother Trespas against thee, and will not hear thee, tell it unto the  
Church: So that some real offence or Trespas, must still be the ground of  
the process. Mat. 18. 15. 17. It must be, for not hearing the Church, when  
it calls us to his Truths and Precepts, not when it sets up to carry us  
from them. For there, if it use censures, it acts of it self, and not by  
his Commission: It opens, or shuts, by an Erring Key, and must not  
expect, that what is so bound or loosed on earth, shall be Ratified in Hea-  
ven.

By such perverse Censures, the Church only deprives it self of the  
Communion of Faithful Christians; but doth not deprive them, of  
Communion with Christ, or with one another. \*The unjust Excommu-  
nications of the Jewish Sanhedrim, when they cast Christs Disciples out of  
their Synagogues, only estranged or cut off themselves, says Photius, but  
it brought those Disciples so much nearer to their Lord and Master. And so  
now, says he, when the imitators of the Jews Excommunicate the Followers  
of the Apostles, they thereby only || Conjoyn and Unite them the more to those  
Divine Apostles, to whom they are more closely and exactly knit, both in Faith  
and Life, by the Communion of sufferings. But they miserably cut off them-  
selves, both from their Doctrine, and from our Orthodox Faith.

\* Mat.  
18. 17. 11.

\* "Ὁσπερ  
τὰς τὰς  
ἀποτοὺς  
μαθηταῖς  
&c.  
† Ἐκεί-  
νους μάλ-  
λον τῷ  
ἀδαστά-  
λῳ καὶ  
ἀποτῇ  
προσώ-  
κείωσαν.

&c. || Συνήλθον τε μᾶλλον καὶ συνήνωσαν, &c. Photius Patr. Constant. Epist. Michaeli Metropol.  
Mitylenes, Epist. Photii 116 p. 157.

And therefore, instead of bemoaning themselves, under such Excom-  
munications, and seeking to have them taken off, by Complying with the  
Church; our Blessed Saviour fortifies his True Followers against them,  
and bids them, not only patiently to rest under them, but triumphantly  
to rejoyce therein. They shall put you out of the Synagogues, says he to them,  
and Cautions them not be offended thereat, when it should happen, or not  
to fall off from him or his ways, to recover the Liberty of the Syna-  
gogues.



gogues again, *Joh. 16. 1. 2.* When they shall sepearte you from their company, by *Excommunications* and *Anathema's*, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil for the Son of Mans sake; rejoyce ye in that day, and leap for joy; for, behold! Great is your Reward in Heaven; for in the like manner did their Fathers unto the Prophets. *Luk. 6. 22, 23.* And thus the Holy Apostles, and Faithful Adherers to Gods Truth, and Worshipping and good Christian Practices, did in all times, when, for such Adherence they fell under the *Anathema's* of Synods, or the *Excommunication* of Churches, during the Papal, or any other former, or later Persecutions. They joyfully received such sentences, and always owned one another and held Communion in Adherence to Gods word and ways, among themselves; when they were cast out of the communion, of such corrupt and Apostatizing Synods, or Churches.

And 'tis the same, when it shall deprive or discharge any Faithful Bishops and Ministers, from supporting such necessary Doctrines, worshipping and practices, by their Ministrations, as Christ requires. For then, notwithstanding such deprivations and discharge, by Churches and Synods, CHRIST'S Faithful Ministers must hold on Ministring, and the faithful People must hold on Communicating, and Adhereing to them therein. Thus, as our LORD \*Notes, their Fathers had Separated and cast out the Old Prophets, from Propheying in their Company, or Assemblies: Who still went on Preaching and Ministring the Word, which they were sent out to publish. And thus the Sanhedrim, that great Synod of the Jewish Church, discharged the Apostles from Ministring Christianity, or Preaching any more in Christs Name; who told them they could by no means desist thereupon, but must hold on their Ministrations, being to Obey God rather than men. *Act. 4. 18, 19, 20.*

Thus also several Synods Deprived *Athanasius*, and the other Orthodox Bishops, who were the stout Asserters and Maintainers of the Divinity of our Lord, against the *Arians*. Such was the Synod of Tyre. And such also was the Synod of Antioch, whose Deprivations of *Athanasius* and the other Orthodox Bishops, were a Blow made at the *Nicene Faith*, though their *Canons*, being good, and according to Primitive Usage, were by Orthodox Councils afterwards taken into the Book of Ecclesiastical Canons, out of which, \*several of them are repeated verbatim in the great Council of Chalcedon, and are there, among the Canons of other Synods, †taken in to be Canons of the Universal Church. And such likewise were the deprivations of other Synods, assembled in this Cause afterwards.

\*As Can. Antioch. 45, 16. vid. Con. Chalced. Part 2. Act. 4. p. 324. & p. 319.

& Part 2. Act. 11. p. 406. Tom. 3. Conc. Ed. Bin. †Concil. Chalced. Can. 1.

Now under these Synodical deprivations, the great Business of the suffering Bishops, was to shew, that whatever other Immoralities or Pe-

Part 1. Personal Crimes were pretended againſt them, ( as ſeveral were moſt im-  
 their com- pudently pretended, againſt all Ground and Reaſon, ) yet in reality and  
 and cap- truth, their deprivations were for the *Cauſe of the Faith*, or for their  
 day, and crimes in maintaining the *Divinity* and *Conſubſtanciality* of *Chriſt* with  
 in the the *Father*. This, *Athanaſius*, and *Paulus*, plead for themſelves, teach-  
 And thus- ing, \* That their *Depoſitions* were not for any other *Cauſe*, but for the ſub-  
 Worſhip- verſion of the *Orthodox Faith*, as is related by † *Socrates* and || *Sozomen*.  
 Iherence And what they made appear to the *Emperor Conſtans*, was, That they  
 of Chriſt- ſuffered, † not for the *Crimes* or *ill Lives* they were accuſed of, as the ſen-  
 ſecutions- tence of *Depoſition* did contain, but for their *thinking*, and *teaching differently*  
 another from the *Synods* their *Depoſers*, about the *Faith*.

\* E. π  
κατωλ-  
σι τις π  
σεως τῆς  
καθαιρέ-  
σεως γί-  
νεται.

† L. 2.

20. || L. 3. c. 11. † ἡν ἐγκλημάτων ἐνεκεν, ἡ δὲ βίς ὡς αἱ καθαιρέσεις ἔχον, ἄλλα τῆς περὶ  
 ἐν δόγμα διαφορίας, Soz. l. 3. c. 10. p. 511.

And when it was once clear, to any Perſons, or Churches, that they  
 were deprived for the cauſe of the Faith: they were not hindred by  
 any Authority of external Judicature, in the *Synods* their depoſers; but  
 readily received, and communicated with them, as *Chriſts* true *Biſhops*  
 till in thoſe places. For, notwithstanding theſe *Synodical Deprivations*,  
*Athanaſius* was all the while own'd and adher'd to by the *Faithful A-*  
*Egyptians*; as *Paulus* alſo was by the *Faithful Conſtantinopolitans*. And  
 when they came to *Rome*, on their giving full ſatisfaction in this Point,  
*Julius* the *Biſhop of Rome* received them to *Communion*. Hearing the *Cauſe*  
 of each, \* ſays *Sozomen*, and finding them all to agree in the *Nicene Faith*,  
 which he ſaw undermined and ſtruck at by their *Deprivers*, he received them  
 to *Communion*, as being of the ſame *Belief* with himſelf.

\* Hiſt.  
Eccl. l. 3.  
c. 8. p.  
507.

This Reception of *Athanaſius* and others, who ſtood deprived by  
 the *Synods of Tyre* and *Antioch*, &c. to his *Communion*, was before  
 the *Synod of Rome*, wherein the *Oriental*s ſhould have juſtified their  
 proceedings, had acquitted and received them. For before the *Sy-*  
*nod* was held at *Rome*, in the *Cauſe of Athanaſius*; *Pope Julius*, gave  
 Notice of the time appointed for it, to the *Eastern Biſhops*, who had  
 been *Depoſing Athanaſius* at *Antioch*, and ſubſtituting *Gregory* in his  
 place; writing to them, to ſend ſome of their number, to clear the juſtice  
 of their ſentence and proceedings in that cauſe. This is plain from *A-*  
*thanaſius*, who \* ſays it was held after the *Letters ſent* by *Eusebius*, and af-  
 ter both the *Eusebians*, and he himſelf had been cited to appear at it. And  
 alſo from *Pope Julius's* † *Letters* to them, on the *Requeſt*, and at the *Con-*  
*cluſion*, of the *Roman Synod*, wherein he mentions the return of his *Presby-*  
*ters*, *Elpidius* and *Philoxenus*, who were || ſent with the former *Letter*, and  
 the answer they had brought him from *Eusebius*, and the *Oriental Biſhops*.  
 But before this firſt *Letter*, to notiſe the time appointed for the *Roman*  
*Synod* to the *Oriental*s; *Julius*, on plain appearance, that their ſufferings

\* Apol.  
2. adv.  
Arian.  
ſub init.  
† Id. p.  
739.  
|| Id. ad  
Solit. p.  
816.

were

\* 1. 3. c. were not for any other pretended Crimes, but only on account of the  
 8. p. 597. Orthodox Faith, had embraced the Communion of Athanasius, and the  
 other Deposed Bishops. For Sozomen \* relates, that on his receiving them  
 Communion, he writ that Letter to the Orientals, taxing their unjust sentences  
 and attempts upon the Nicene Faith, and calling them to the Synod to be held  
 at Rome, there to justify their proceedings against them. And in the Letter  
 which the Orientals sent back to him, which he received, as I have now  
 shewn, before the sitting of the Roman Synod, and which was read to the Bi-  
 shops therein Assembled; they \* complain of his having Communicated with  
 \* Soz. Athanasius, and his Adherents, which they said was a Reproach cast on their  
 ib. p. 508 Synods, and an Abrogation of their sentence. So that his disregard of the  
 Synodical Deprivations of Athanasius, and the other Orthodox Bishops  
 Deposed in the Synods of Tyre or Antioch, was not on account, of their  
 having been regularly reversed, by any Superior External Judicature.  
 But it was, as having been of no force and effect in themselves, because  
 passing on Christs Faithful Pastors, for their Fidelity and Firmness to the  
 True Christian Faith.

Besides, when the Synod at Rome sat in the cause of Athanasius, and  
 the other Orthodox Bishops, and Synodically admitted them to Commu-  
 nion: I do not see, how, in the Regular way of External Judicature, this  
 could take off the Deprivations by the foremention'd Synods. For the  
 Synod at Rome, was inferior in Number of Bishops, Consisting, as Atha-  
 nasius \* says, only of about Fifty Bishops. Whereas the Synod of Tyre,  
 besides the Egyptians, who came along with Athanasius, Consisted of sta-  
 818. ty Bishops met there from divers places \* says Sozomen; and the Synod of  
 \* L. 1. c. 28 Antioch, which again Deposed him, and the other Orthodox Bishops, con-  
 \* L. 3. sisted of Ninety seven, as Sozomen \* reports. And moreover, the Synod of  
 c. 5. p. Rome, consisted of Bishops, who lived more remote and further off, and  
 501. were Subjects of another Prince, viz. Constant. Whereas the Synod  
 which deprived them, Consisted of the Neighbouring Bishops, some of  
 them Comprovincials to the accused parties; and were Subjects of their  
 own Emperor, viz. Constantius, whose censure may seem more conclu-  
 ding on the Fellow-Bishops of their own Empire. So that Julius, and  
 his Fifty Bishops in the Roman Synod, could not reverse the Depo-  
 sitions of those former Synods, in Regular way of outward Judicature.

But yet finding, whatever other things were pretended, that in re-  
 lity they had been deposed in those Synods, for their Firmness to the  
 Nicene Faith, in prejudice whereof there lyes no power of depriving  
 in any Synods; before any Superior, or more general Council had re-  
 versed their depositions in Regular way of External Judicature, they  
 took part, and Communicated with Athanasius, and the other Deprived  
 Bishops. And this, the Faithful Egyptians, both Clergy and People,  
 had done, without any regard to the Deprivation of those Synods.

\*Ap. Soc.  
Hist. Ecc.  
l. 2. c. 73.  
p. 109.  
110, 111.

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At the time of *Athanasius's* forced absence from them; and are applauded by *Pope Julius* for the same. For, in his \* *Letter to the Church of Alexandria*, after the *Synod of Sardica*, on the *Restitution of Athanasius* to his See; he extols them, for their firm and constant adherence to the right faith, and to him their *Bishop*, who had been so glorious a *Confessor* and Maintainer thereof, all the while he was violently torn from them, and another obtruded on their Church in his room.

And like to this, has been the Practice, I think, of all times. For still, as Errors and Corruptions, in Doctrine, Worship, and Practice, prevailed and became general in any places; on any considerable opposition made to them by Christs faithful Ministers, to silence Gain-sayers, they have had the establishment of Synods. And these Synods, have anathematized the Truth, condemned and deposed the Preachers, and excommunicated and cast out the Adherents and Practicers thereof. But yet the Preachers and Ministers of God's Worship and Truth, have still held on their Ministrations, and God's faithful People have stuck to them therein: And under all the depositions and excommunications, of Councils or Churches, they have kept Communion with one another, in these necessary Truths and Ways of God, which Corrupt and Apostate Councils have anathematized. Or else, under that power of Error, which has so often tyrannized over the Truth, more especially in the *Arian* Persecutions, and in the several steps and advancements of the *Papal* Corruptions, the pure Worship and Doctrine of Christ, had perished, and all Face of a true and unadulterated Church had long since failed from off the Earth.

This I say, in case of Depositions, or other Censures, for the Cause of the necessary Truths, or Worship of Jesus Christ. In deprivations for other things, or on pretence of mere personal Crimes, the Case, I grant, may be otherwise. For in them, though the Sentence be unjust, it is a personal Wrong, and affects the sufferers themselves. And in private sufferings, 'tis reasonable to bear much for Orders sake, and to be tyed up to ways of Order for Redress: So that such sufferers, shall be bound to rest under the judicial Injustice, till they can have it reversed in like sort as it was laid on, viz. in way of Judicature, or by Regular Appeals. And accordingly in all depositions, for such private or personal Crimes, this is required by the *Ancient Canons*. If a *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, or *Deacon*, say the *Councils of \* Carthage* and || *Sardica*, (and the same Determinations, † says *Balsamon*, are to be taken as meant of Lay-men too,) be deposed, on pretence of his Idleness and Neglects; let him not dare, say they, to go on, or to assert his former Right of Communion, during the time of his Excom-

\* Held  
An. 419.  
|| Held  
An. 347.  
† Ta  
ἐν ταῦτα

δοριδίου τα χάριν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἐκκληστίων καὶ οἱς τοῦ λοιποῦ κληρικῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λαϊκοῖς, Balf. ad Can. 12. Concil. Sardic.

F

munication,



\* *Περὶ* *munification*, \* *till his Cause has had a new Cognizance and Examination*  
*ἢ δια-* *or been heard over again. And if, before such re-hearing, he presume to*  
*ῥάσσει* *otherwise; he shall be judged, say the Fathers at Carthage, thereby to be*  
*ἢ πρά-* *given sentence of Condemnation against himself.*

*ματ* *©*  
*αὐτῶ* *ἐκ*

*ἐφείλει ἐκδικεῖν τὴν κοινότητα*, Concil. Sardic. Can. 14. *Ἐὰν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἀκωνομοίας, καὶ*  
*τῶ ἀκωνομῶν, εἰς κοινότητα πολήσῃ, αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴ τῆς καταδίκης τὴν ἑξῆς ἐξεννοχῇται*  
 Conc. Carth. Can. 32.

But in Depositions or Excommunications, for doctrinal Truths, and spiritual Ministrations; there is not only a Wrong to themselves, but a Wrong to Religion. And there they must go on, for the sake of Gospel-worship and doctrines, which are Christs Cause; though they would be content to suffer and sit still, so far as it is their own. And accordingly, the Council of Constantinople, entituled, *Prima & Secunda*, excepts the Case of \* *Heretical Prelates promoting or pushing on any Heresies*, when it requires Inferiors to stay for a synodical Cognizance, before they break off dependance from their Prelates, in all other Cases.

\* *Δι' αἰ-*  
*ρεσιν π-*  
*να παρὰ*  
*τῶ ἀρίων*  
*συνοδῶν*

*ἢ πατρῶν κατεγνωσμένην· κανονικῶς ἐπιπλήσει ἐκ ὑποκρίσεων, πρὸ συνοδικῆς διαγραφῆς*  
*καὶ τῆς κοινότητι ἀποτειχίζοντες*, Conc. Const. 1 & 2 Dist. Can. 15.

\* 2 Cor.  
 13. 8.

Though Synods therefore, are the most Venerable Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction here on Earth; yet is all the Obligation and Authority, in their decisions or sentences, within this Compass. They have no Effect or Force, against the Truth, as St. Paul \* says, or against any for adhering to it. So that they are to affect none, who have Christ and his Truth plainly on their side. Nor do their judgments and definitions, bar those, who are concerned to take Notice of them, from examining and judging for themselves, whether they strike at any part of Christian Truth and Religion, before they pay Obedience to them. I grant, there ought to be great deference to their determination; and all private Persons are to use great modesty, and care, in judging after them; and need to look, that the blow and destruction thereby made to any necessary Truth or Practice of our holy Religion, be very plain before they overlook and disregard what they order. But still, judging they must, because in all their belief and practice in these things, it is not any implicit dependance on men, or a blind obedience to any human sentence or decision; but observance of the Truth it self, or of what Christ has appointed in his Word, that must justify them. And therefore, if on an humble and diligent examination, and by plain evidence it appear, that in their definitions of Articles, or censure of Persons they strike at the Truth, and seek the overthrow of any part of Religion

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region; their Acts are to be esteemed as of no effect, and all concerns of Parties, both Clergy and People, are to go on doing the same, in Religious Ministration and Communion, as if there were no such thing. More just, and authoritative Synods, they will be like to seek; and appeal from these, in a regular way, to others more general, which, in external way of humane judicature, shall reverse their unjust sentences. But suffering all in the Cause of Truth and Religion, they will not desist in the mean time; but go on, notwithstanding any such *synodical Anathema*, or *Deprivation*, in true spiritual Ministrations and Communion.

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## PART III.

### *Of Schism.*

#### CHAP. I.

#### *Of the Nature of Schism.*

*And of the Schism of Particular Members from their own Church, in throwing off Subjection and Dependence on their own Bishops.*

**B**Y what I have offer'd, about the Authority and effect of *State-deprivations*, yea, or even of the *depositions* of Synods too, I think it may appear, how the faithful Ministers of Christ are not disabled, or discharged, by any such deprivations, from the exercise of their spiritual Ministrations, whereto they stand bound, by so many Obligations, in the fore-mentioned Cases.

But besides the deprivation of State, some think the maintenance of *Unity in the Church*, when that is like to be broken thereby, ought to stop them of that Exercise. And therefore, for a further clearing of their duty in those Cases, I shall procede,

2. Secondly, to shew, *That the preservation of external Communion and Peace in the Church*, ought not to debar, or put by their due discharge thereof.

Admit, say some, that it were their duty to go on in their Ministrations for the service of Religion and of Souls, in those cases where this can be done in maintenance of Unity, and whilst the Church continues one. Yet what will you say, if such Ministration must unavoidably make, or keep up a Schism? Do not we all own that, to be one of the greatest Banes to Religion, and a most sinful and mischievous thing? And if otherwise they ought to be held on, ought not such Ministrations to be let fall, rather than a Schism shall be made, or kept up in the Church thereby?

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*Of the Schism of Particular Members from their own Church, Part I.*

That there will be a Schism in the Church, in such cases, is more apparent. And that Schism is most dreadful to the Church, full of Guilt, as it is both the Breach of Unity and the Bane of Charity, and an In-let of continual miseries, and disturbances, is no less apparent. But in pressing the consideration thereof upon particular persons, or parties, for prevention, or redress, it is to be enquired, *first*, who make it? That will shew who ought to mend it; but if they will not, it may be enquired *next*, who else can cure it? Or what the sufferers, in love of peace, and preferring the Publick before themselves, should give up for the Cure thereof, that they may duly prize external Unity, but not over-value it? Or if, through the Error or inflexibleness, (which God avert,) of those who are the Authors thereof, it be already made, and cannot be remedyed, all are to consider, *lastly*, how they are to carry themselves towards the Makers of it, and with whom they are to hold Communion.

To Clear these Points I shall say something.

I. To the Nature of Schism, to shew when a Schism is made, and by whom.

II. To those things, which may be a just ground to disunite or break off, either from any Persons, or Churches, without blame of Schism; some things not being to be born, nor others to be parted with, for the love of external Peace and Union.

III. To the Communion of good Christians under a Schism, and how they are to carry it towards Schismatics.

1. First, I shall say something to the Nature of Schism, to shew when a Schism is made, and by whom.

\* Schismata, quibus scinderet unitatem, Cyp. de unit. Eccl. p. 105, & 119.

—In Schismatis Partes Christi Membra distrahere, & Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Corpus unum scindere ac laniare nituntur, J. Ep. 44. p. 86.

† Homil. 3. in 1 ad Cor. c. 1. v. 10. on Μαρί or ὁ μὴν ἁγισμату.

ἁγισμату same mind, and in speaking the same things, that there be no

1 Cor. 1. 10. Not to set up an Independance among themselves, and act separately; but with mutual dependance and conjunction, that there be no

Schism, lyes in Breach of Union, or in making two, or many, out of one. \* Schisms, says St. Cyprian, which cut or break the Unity, or tear and divide that, which should be kept together as one Body. By Schism, as St. Chrysostom, † notes, One Church is broken into many Churches, and the Unity thereof is abolisht. Accordingly the Members are call'd upon, to be joyn'd together in the

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schism in the body. 1 Cor. 12. 25. And *ῥιζοματῶν* schisms, are usually rendered divisions, as 1 Cor. 10. and c. 11. 18.

This Union, which Schism breaks, is the union of a society. For the Church is a society of men, Associated and incorporated together, for the work and purposes of Religion. 'Tis call'd a \* Family, or † Household, or City, which are all words Expressive of Society. St Paul Styles it, the City of the living God, Heb. 12. 22. And tells the Christians at Ephesus, that they are \* Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, Eph. 2. 19.

\* Eph.  
3. 15.  
|| Eph.  
2. 19.  
\* Συμπο-  
λίται ὡς  
ἀδελφοί.

This Church, or spiritual city, wherein Christians are incorporated into one Body, is not only the Church of one place or Country, wherein all the Members may Embody and Associate under the same Governors; as the Church of Rome, Alexandria, or Antioch. But the collection of all particular Christian Societies, or the whole number of independant Churches, Existing in all times, and diffused through all places. For all these, our Saviour has ordained to be one Society, or Spiritual Body. Of them he speaks, or of all that do or shall believe on him, when he prays to his Father, that they all may be one, Joh. 17. 11. 20. 21. And of them St Paul speaks, when he says both of Jews and Gentiles, distributed into so many distinct Churches, that by the Cross of Christ, they are all reconciled to God in one Body. Eph. 2. 16. And when he says of Baptism, which, being duly received in any Church, makes a man free of all other Christian Churches, that by one spirit, we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, 1 Cor. 12. 13. And of the Unity of this Church, or Collection of all Believers, do those Scriptures speak, which represent all that are in Heaven and all that are in Earth, as one whole Family. Eph. 3. 15. As one House-hold. 1 Tim. 3. 15. and Gal. 6. 10. or, as one City, Heb. 12. 22. Whence accordingly all, who are at any time in this world, are said to have their \* Citizenship or Corporation in Heaven, Phil. 3. 20. And all who are admitted into Christs Church here, to be † Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and || Domesticks with Prophets, and Apostles, and with all others, who are gone to God before. Eph. 2. 19. What is the one Body, \* saith St Chrysostom on the words of St. Paul, there is one Body? 'Tis all believers, of every place, saith he, both those who now are, and who formerly have been, and who hereafter shall be.

\* Πολι-  
τευμα  
† Συμπο-  
λίται  
|| ὁικείοι.  
\* Chry-  
sol. Hom.  
10. in Ep.  
ad Eph.  
c. 2.

And as to the Union of these Spiritual bodys or societies, both the Members of each particular Church, must keep Unity, or make one society with their own Church. And every particular and independant Church, with its Members, must keep Unity, and make one society, with all other particular and independant Churches. The Members keep Unity with their own Church, by due dependance and subjection, or by keeping subject and dependant on their own Lawful Bishops. And one particular Church, keeps Unity with all other independant and

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 sister Churches, by *Fraternal Communion*, or the *Communion of Saints* in the *Holy Catholick Church* profess'd in the *Creed*; that is, by their readiness to *Unite* with their Religious Assemblies, to own their Members, and to ratify their Church Acts, as if they were their own, or had been spced by themselves.

And this way of *fraternal communion*, as well as the other, of *keeping under the same visible Governors by due dependance and subjection*, is a way to *Unite* them, not only as a *Sect*, who all hold and profess the same *Doctrines* and *Opinions*; but also as a *Society*, or as *one Body*. For by this bond of *fraternal communion*, they stand obliged, not only to *Unity of Doctrine*, as men of the same *Sect*; but to *unity*, as of *internal*, so of *external society* and *incorporation*, as *fellow citizens*. For such are the obligations, of receiving mutually each others *Member* as their own free denizens; of *admitting* of their *baptismal claims*, and *Church Priviledges*; of *Ratifying* of their *Church-Acts*, and *Censures*; of *Associating* with their *Church services*, and *Assemblies*; and of *standing together*, as *one body* and *brotherhood*, for the same *common Tenets* and *Religious interests*, as if they were incorporated under the same *External Heads*, or were the members of the same *Particular Church*. And this is to *unite* them in the great things of *society*; particularly of a *spiritual society*, which lyes mightily in *communion in spiritual acts* and *offices*. And accordingly, *Uniting is the same Sacrament*, which are the Highest Acts of *Church Communion*, is set out for a way of *Uniting* all in *one body*, or *corporation*. We being many, are *one body*, by being all partakers of that *one bread*. 1 Cor. 10. 17. And we are all *baptized into one body*, 1 Cor. 12. 13. So that all *Christian Churches*,

- \* Eph. 4. 6. & c. 3. 15
- † Eph. 2. 19.
- || Eph. 4. 5.
- \* Eph. 2. 19.
- || Eph. 4. 4.
- \* Eph. 4. 5.

who under \* *one common Father*, as † *Domesticks*; or under || *one Lord and King*, as \* *Fellow-citizens*; are incorporated upon one *Charter* or *New-covenant*, to live by the same *Laws*, and out of the || *same Hopes*, and in enjoyment of the same *Church-rights* and *Priviledges*; and have one *common Form of Incorporation*, to *Naturalize* or *Enfranchise* them thereinto, viz. \* *One Baptism*; are to transact as *one society*, by *keeping up one fraternal Communion* among themselves.

Now both this *Union of subjection*, towards their own Church and its *Lawful Heads*; and of *fraternal communion*, towards all other equal and independant Churches; all good Christians are bound to keep up, unless some obstacles happen in either, which are of force to put a bar thereto, or give discharge thereof. And such obstacles, either in our own *Bishops*, or in other equal and independant Churches, are *Heresy*, when once openly profess'd by them. Or, their *fixing unlawful Terms of Communion*, putting sinful things into their sacred offices, or not allowing any to *Communicate* with them, without believing, or professing some false *Doctrine*, or partaking with them in some evil worship of

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thing. Or, *Grannical Usupation on their Brethrens Libertys*, not admitting other Churches to their Communion, unless they will give up their own rights and freedoms, and become their Subjects. When such exceptions lye against any Bishops, or against any Churches, they have lost their claims of union. But all *Church-Members* are bound, I conceive, by all the numerous, and earnest commands, of *keeping Unity*, to continue subject to their Lawful Bishops; as all Churches are by the same, to keep up Communion with other Churches; if they cannot produce any such just obstacles in bar thereof.

Now *Schism*, is a *sinful breach of this union of Church Society*. Either, in the *Members of any particular Church*, when they unjustly break off their *subjection and dependance upon their own Church*. Or, in any *Particular Churches*, when they unduly break off *Fraternal Communion* with other Churches, denying to *Assemble with them*, or *Communicating with such*, as stand *Excommunicated by*, or have made a *Schism from them*.

First, *One Great way of Schism*, is in respect of *Particular Members*, when, against the Gospel duty and Commands of Unity, they unduly throw off their *subjection and dependance upon their own Bishops*, and break off from the *Unity of their own Church*.

*One way of Uniteing Societies, or Bodys of Men*, is by *uniteing them under the same Heads*. They are all *one Body*, and Members one of another, as keeping under, and being United to the *same Head and Governor*. Thus, of the Association of *Man and Wife*, which is the Original Society, and makes a Family, which is the ground work of all other Societies, it is said, that *they two are one*, Eph. 5. 31. because the *Husband is the Head of the Wife*, v. 23. And so likewise of *\* Christ and \* Eph. 4.* his Church, that *they are one*, Eph. 5. 31, 32. because he is the *Head of* 4, 15, 16 his Church, v. 23. And one way, whereby, as St. Cyprian observes, our Lord sets off the *Uniting of his Sheep, as one Flock*; is by uniting them under himself, as *the one Shepherd*, Joh. 10. 16. 'Tis the joint-union and dependance, on one Master of the Family, which makes one House; and on one General, which makes one Army; and on one KING, which makes one Kingdom. And so on one and the same Church-heads and Governours, which makes one particular Church. For the Apostle compares the *Union of many Persons*, into *one Church or Politick Society*; to the Union of *many Members*, into *one Natural Body*, 1 Cor. 12. Which Union, is made by the adherence and dependance of the Members, on the *Natural Head*: For the several Members, are no longer one Body, nor one with each other, after once they are cut off, and parted from it. As to the *Unity*, we take a *Body*, when the Apostle says there is *one Body*, for that which is under one Head. So that, if there be but one Head, there is but one Body, saith \* St. Chrysostom.

¶ Ad quam unitatem redigens Ecclesiam Suam, denuo dicit, & erit unus Grex & unus Pastor, Cyp. Ep. 69. p. 182.

\* Hom. 10. in Ep. ad Eph.

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6 *Of the Schism of Particular Members from their own Church, Part 3.*

The *Union of the Church* therefore, as one particular Society, which *Schism* breaks, consists chiefly in keeping united to *Church-Heads* and *Governours*. Church-Rulers, are the *Heads*, which make the several *Parts* one with another; or, as the Scripture sometimes speaks, the *Joints* and *Ligaments*, which tye the respective *Members*, and compact the whole *Body* together. The whole *Body* of the Church, saith St. Paul, is fully joyned together, and compacted by that, which every Joint, i. e. each Pastor or Church-Governour, supplies. Eph. 4. 16. And we are all the *Body* of Christ, and *Members* in particular, as he says again, as we are under the same *Governours* which he has set over that *Body*, having in the Church set, as first *Apostles*, so after them *Governments*, viz. Bishops and Presbyters, for the standing Governance and Administration thereof, 1 Cor. 12. 27, 28.

More particularly, the *Heads of Union* in any Church-societies, are the *BISHOPS* in their respective Churches.

\* Οἱ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς κεφαλὴ τῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας σώματος λογιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διακονοὶ χειρῶν σώζοντες τὸ πᾶν, Zon. in Can. 55. & 56. Ap. vid. & Can. Ap. 34.

\* They are the Head of the Body of the Church; as Presbyters and Deacons are as the Hands thereof, as Zonaras observes on the 55 and 56 Canons of the Apostles. For, since the death of the Holy Apostles, the Bishops are the chief spiritual

Heads, and the ordinary and standing Governours of Christ's Church.

\* ἡγεμένοί. They, above all others, are those \* Guides or Rulers, whom the Members of the Church are call'd to remember and obey, Heb. 13. 7. 17. The  
 || Rev. 1. || Angels of the Churches, unto whom, as the Heads thereof, our Lord directs himself, when he sends the several Letters to the Churches, Rev. 2. 1, 7, 8, 11, &c. They stand to head the Members of Christ, and to unite and compact them together, under him the chief Bishop; appearing at the Head of their respective Churches, as his Deputies, who represent his Person, and supply his place; acting, \* in the Person of Christ, as St. Paul; or vice Christi, in his place or stead, as || St. Cyprian; whom we ought to respect, as the Lord himself, as St. Ignatius † says.

† ὁ αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον, Ignat. Epist. ad Eph. pag. 21.

So that for Church-members to keep the *Union of any Church*, is to keep subject and dependant on him, who is the lawful Bishop thereof. Thus,

\* πᾶσιν. St. Ignatius makes \* mens return from Schism to the Unity of God, to be in their return to the subjection and consistory of their lawful Bishop. They make the Church or one Body, who hold on Communion, and keep one with him, and with those Presbyters and Deacons, who adhere  
 ἡν ματανοήσωσιν ὡς ἐνόηται θεῷ καὶ συνέδριον τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, Ignatius Epist. ad Philad. pag. 43. Ed. Voss.

Chap. to him saith \* shop, or you may and the they be who br another Bishop the Bish no long setting sent to to thof the fet Thus is gy and Christi to be ance; Church in salem an Alt purpos nion, \* is call'd And Christi shops. blessed you, sa there le Catholi who kee many a another And be one Bi

ἐκεῖ τὸ πᾶν, p. τῶν μοι χρεῖν, &

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to him, and officiate under him. *The Church, saith \* St. Cyprian, is a People united to their Bishop, or a Flock adhering to their Shepherd. Whence you may know, the Bishop always to be in the Church, and the Church to go along with the Bishop. And they break off from the Unity of the Church, who break off from him; and they go to set up another Church, if they go to set up another Bishop against him. || If any are no longer with the Bishop, says the same St. Cyprian, they are no longer of the Church. And to † consent to the setting up of another Bishop, is the same, as to consent to the setting up of another Church, says he to those Confessors at Rome, who had agreed to the setting up of Novatian against Cornelius. Thus is the one Bishop, at the head of his Clergy and People, to unite and keep together a Christian Church, all the Oblations whereof are to be in his Communion, and with his Allowance; as the one Altar among the Jews, was to keep together the Jewish Church. For they were to have but \* one Altar of Burnt-offering at Jerusalem, whither all were to come for Sacrifice; and were forbid to set up an Altar any where else. And because of his being set for the same purpose of Unity, as that was; therefore is the Bishop and his Communion, \* call'd unum Altare, the one Altar; and making an Anti-Bishop, is call'd setting up aliud Altare, another Altar, in the Ancient Language.*

And therefore in pressing the great duty of Unity on the Ancient Christians, the Fathers enjoyn them most strictly to stick to their Bishops. This is done by St. Cyprian: and before him by Ignatius, that blessed Martyr and Contemporary of the Apostles. || Take care all of you, says he, to follow the Bishop; ---wheresoever the Bishop appears to be, there let the Multitude be with him: Like as wheresoever Christ goes, the Catholick Church goes too. † Let my part be with those, says he again, who keep subje. to the Bishop; yea, let my Soul be pawn'd for theirs. As many as are God's and Jesus Christ's, keep with the Bishop, \* says he in another place, pressing them to Union, and warning them against Schism. And because the Church is to be but one, therefore there is to be but one Bishop in a Church, for the Members all to adhere to, or for the

\* Illi sunt Ecclesia, Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & Pastori suo Grex adherens. Unde scire debes, Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, Cyp. Ep. 66. p. 168. --Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, Id. Ep. 33. p. 66.

|| Et si qui cum Episcopo non sint, in Ecclesia non esse, Cyp. ubi supra Ep. 66. p. 168.

+ Vos-alium Episcopum fieri consensisse, id est, quod nec fas est, nec licet fieri, Ecclesiam aliam constitui, Cyp. Ep. 46. p. 89. So, of Novitianus setting up his Pseudo-Bishops in other Churches, he says, Humanam conatur Ecclesiam facere, post Dei Traditionem, viz. After those Ordain'd in the Churches by Apostolical Succession, Id. Ep. 55. p. 112. Ed. Ox.

\* Deut. 12. 4, 5, 13. 14.

\* Ignat. Epist. ad Philad.

p. 41. & Cyp. de Unitate Eccl. p. 116. & Ep. 43. p. 83.

|| Πάντες τὸ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς τῷ πατρὶ --ὅπερ ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἐπισκοπος

ἐκείνῳ τῷ πληθύνει. Ὡς περ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ χρεῖς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrnaeos, p. 6. † Ἀντί-φυκον ἐγὼ τῷ ὑποτασσόμεναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόναις, καὶ μὲν αὐτῶν μοι το μέγιστον χρεῖν ἐν θεῷ, Id. Ep. ad Polycarp. p. 14. \* Ὅσοι καὶ θεῶ ἐσιν, καὶ Ἰησοῦ χρεῖν, ἐτοι μετὰ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐσιν, Ep. ad Philad. p. 40.

Body to associate and unite with. This was, and ought to be the Ex-

¶ *Eκκλησιαστικὴ Κανὼν*, as was affirmed by *Cornelius*, saying, there ought to be but one Bishop in a Catholick Church: And as is also declared by the Great Council of Nice.

κληστός εἶναι δεῖν, Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 43. † Can. 8.

Now, as the *Union of any Churches*, lyes mainly in *keeping united to the Bishops*: So *Schism*, which is a breach of Union in those Churches, will lye chiefly in *breaking off unduly and dividing from them*. Especially, in *setting up of opposite Bishops*, or in making a *second Bishop* in a Church, against a former *Orthodox* and *Rightful Bishop yet living and claiming*, which makes a most plain, and consummate *Schism*. For, in the same Church, two opposite Bishops, are two opposite Heads. And two Heads, will make two Bodies; those who set up the New One against the Old, as likewise all they who afterwards come over to him, making a New Body under him; which apparently destroys Union, and makes two of one. And thus, we see it doth in all Societies. If an Opposite General, is set up by a mutinous Party, it divides the Army; or if an opposite King is set up in a Realm, it makes a Sedition, and divides the Kingdom. Or, if the same is done in a College, a Family, or other Societies, as well as in a Church, opposite Heads do unavoidably make opposite Bodies, and visibly destroy the Unity of any Society, by breaking into two Societies, or into as many, as there shall be opposite Heads thereof.

Accordingly, the Ancients place the Schism of Church-Members, in breaking off from Rightful Bishops, or setting up others in the same Church against them. Thus, in the Apostolical Canons, the Schism of Presbyters, of other Clergy, or Laicks, is express'd by their setting up another Altar, and assembling separately, in contempt of the Bishop. So also the Council of Carthage declares, concerning any \* Presbyters, who should do the same, after they had been sentenced and segregated by their Bishops, that therein they are Makers of Schisms. And the second General Council rejects men as Schismatics, † tho' they give out that they confess the Right Faith, if they assemble and hold Congregations, in opposition to their Canonical Bishops. Hence, says St. Cyprian, come Schisms and Heresies, because Men eny

Can. 31. **Ap.** \*—Ἡγήσεται ὀφείλειεν καχωρισμένους ἅμα τῷ θεῷ προσφέρειν, ἢ ἄλλο ἀγορευθῆναι συσταθῆναι ὀνηθῆναι—χρῆσμα ποιήσῃ, Can 10. Conc. Carthag. † Πρὸς δὲ τέτοις, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πίσιν μὲν τῇ ἐκείνῃ προσποιουμένων ὁμολογεῖν, ἀποκηρύξαντας δὲ καὶ ἀντιπαραστήσαντας τοῖς κανονικοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις, Concil. Constant. Can. 6. || Hinc ad Hæreses & Schismata profilitur, dum obtestatur Sacerdotibus, dum Episcopis invidetur, cum quis aut quæritur non se potius ordinatum, aut dedignatur alterum ferre præpositum, Cyp. de Zelo & Livore p. 223. Hæc sunt initia Hæreticorum, & Ortus atque Conatus Schismaticorum, &c. ut sibi placeant, & præpositos superbo tumore contemnunt. Sic de Ecclesia receditur, &c. Id. Ep. 3. p. 6.



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and condemn their Bishops. \* They have risen, and do rise from this, viz. \* Inde  
from some proud Persons presumptuous contempt of the Bishop, who is one, and Schisma-  
presides over the Church. ta & Her-  
refes ob-

ortæ sunt, & oriuntur, cum Episcopus, qui unus est, & Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præ-  
sumptione contemnitur, Cyp. Ep. 66. p. 167.

Especially, if they set up an Anti-Bishop, and oppose a second Bishop to the first, or to one Canonically Ordained already, and rightfully posses'd of the same Church. This was the Case of *Novatianus*, whom the three Italian Bishops, which he call'd to Rome for that purpose, ordain'd Bishop of Rome against *Cornelius*, who was already the Rightful and Canonical Bishop of that place. This setting up of Anti Bishops, St. Cyprian tells them, is erecting an \* *Adulterous Head*, (a second Bishop being no more to be admitted to the same Church, than a second Husband to the same Wife, whilst the former lives :) and a *spurious* or † *adulterate Chair*. And bids them know, that || *after once a Bishop is lawfully made, and Ordained in any Church, they can no ways set up another Bishop against him in the same place.* He calls it erecting \* *unlawful Priesthoods*, and opposing against the *True Altar* and *Holy Sacrifice*, a † *False* and || *Profane Altar*, & \* *Sacrilegious Sacrifices*. And he aggravates the *Novatian Schism*, by saying, they had † *not only broke off from the Bishop and Church, but had proceeded against the Ordinance of God, and Catholick Unity, to set up against him another Bishop, an adulterous and contrary Head.* And on like setting up of Anti-Bishops, after others were first in place, || *Optatus Charges the Donatists with Schism afterwards.* These setters up of opposite or Anti-Bishops, first break off themselves from their own Bishop, before they can set another up against him. And being broke off from their Bishop, they are broke off from the Church, which is in *Episcopo*, as I shewed before, or goes along with the Bishop; those Members only making the true Body, which adhere and keep to the Head; and those \* *ceasing to be any longer of the Body, who are separated from the Head.* \* *Si qui cum Episcopo non sint, in Ecclesia non esse*, Cyp. Ep. 166. p. 68. † Ep. 3. p. 6. & Ep. 55. p. 104. || Ep. 43. p. 84. & Ep. 45. p. 86.

\* *Adulterum Caput*, Ep. 45. p. 86.

† *Adulteram Cathedram*, *Id. Ep.* 68. p. 177.

|| *Agnoscant atque intelligant, Episcopo semel facto, & Collegarum, & Plebis Testimonio & Judicio comprobato, alium constitui nullo modo posse*, Cyp. Ep. 44. p. 86.

\* *Illicita Sacerdotia*, Ep. 69. p. 180.

† *Falsa Altaria*, Ep. 69. p. 180.

|| *Prophanum Altare*, Ep. 3. p. 6.

\* *Sacrificia Sacrilega*, Ep. 68. p. 177. & Ep. 69. p. 180.

† *Non tantum radices & matris finum atq; complexum recusavit; sed etiam gliscente & in pejus crudescente discordia, Episcopum sibi constituit, & contra Sacramentum semel traditam Divinæ Dispositionis & Catholicæ Unitatis, adulterum & contrarium Caput extra Ecclesiam fecit*, Ep. 45. p. 86.

|| --Majorinum post Ordinationem Cæciliani ordinaverunt, Schisma facientes. ---Consequens erit eosdem fuisse Authores Schismatis, *Optat. l. 1. p. 40. Ed. Par. Albaj.*

\* *receded*



\* Ep. 43. \* *receded ab Ecclesia*; that is, *are not within, but without the Church*.  
 p. 84. & Now from this Account of Church-Union in any particular Churches,  
 Ep. 3. and of Schism, which lyes in the unjust Breach thereof, I shall observe  
 p. 6. these three Things.

1. *First*, That when a second, or opposite Bishop, is set up in any Church against a former Orthodox one, who is still Bishop thereof, *the Anti-Bishop, and they who set him up and adhere to him, make the Schism*. For the other, with his Adherents, as the same Head and Members abide still where they were, and are still the same Church. But the Anti-

\* Schisma apud Carthaginem a vestris Principibus factum. --- Non enim *Cacilianus* exivit a *Majorino* Avo tuo; sed *Majorinus* a *Caciliano*, Optat. Millev. l. 1. p. 38. Ed. Par. *Albaspinu*.

† Alium Episcopum fieri consensisse, id est, quod nec fas est, nec licet fieri, Ecclesiam aliam constitui, Cyp. Ep. 46. p. 89.

Bishop and his Followers, *are gone out from them*, which \* *Optatus* gives as a plain Proof against the *Donatist* Bishops, that *the Schism lay at their doors*. They have broke themselves off, and by erecting themselves into an opposite Head and Body, make a new and opposite Church. † *Consenting to set up another Bishop, they consented therein to set up another Church*, as I observed before from St. *Cyprian*. So that they rend that Body, which, by keeping wholly to one Bishop

before, was but *one*, into several pieces, and break one Church into two Churches.

This, I say, they do, if the former Bishop is *Orthodox*. For if he is Heretical, Heresie, as I shall shew, dissolves the Union, and cancels the Obligation of Adherence between such Head and Members. They are bound to own him as their Head, and to be one with him as his true and genuine Members, whilst he is at the Head of Christian Doctrines, and necessary Truths; but not when he falls off from them, into damnable Heresies and Unchristian Errors.

And if he is still the *rightful Bishop of that Church*. If he *voluntarily quits his Right*, and Relation to them, and gives it up by his own Resignation, they are no longer bound to adhere to him. For these Unions and Dependances, are contracted by the consent of Mens own Wills, and are kept up betwixt these Heads and Members, not by natural, but voluntary Communications. So that, if a Bishop throws up his own Relation, and will no longer preside over them, as Head of a Church; they are no longer bound, to keep in Dependance and Subjection, or to stick to him, as Members thereof. Or, if he loses it against his Will, by a just sentence and deprivation, that also discharges the Members from their Union and Dependance, and sets them free to receive, and to unite themselves to another in his place. But if neither *Death* has put an end to his Relation, nor he has thrown it up by his own Resignation, nor is *deprived* thereof by the *finishing of a Regular Process* and Synodical Sentence against him; he is still the Bishop

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Chap. I. in throwing off Subjection & Dependance on their own Bishops.

II

of his CHURCH, and will bar and keep out any other Person from being Ordained a Bishop over them. \* A Bishop can by no means be constituted in that Church, whose own Bishop is yet alive, and stands vested with his proper Honour, unless of his own accord he renounce his Bishoprick. And as to making a vacancy by deprivation, it behoves first, that the cause of him, who is to be cast out of his Bishoprick, be canonically examined, and the Process against him be fully brought to an end. And then, after he is canonically deposed, another may be promoted to his Bishoprick, say the Fathers in the Council of Constantinople.

\* Τὸ το  
ὁρίσαι α-  
ναγκαῖον  
ἐστὶν μὴ  
ἐπὶ τῷ  
παρ' ἐπισ-  
κοπον κα-  
ταστῆναι  
ἐν τῇ ἐκ-  
κλησίᾳ,  
ἢ ἐπὶ ὃ

προσὶς (ἢ, ὅ) τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνέσταται πῶς, ἐν μὴ αὐτὸς ἐκὼν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν παραιτήσεται. καὶ ὃ  
πρότερον τὴν αἰτίαν τῶ μέλλοντι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀδικωκεῖται κανονικῶς ἐξεταζομένῳ ἐν πέραι  
ῖν. ἐπὶ ὅτῳ, μετὰ τὴν αὐτῷ καθάρισιν ἔτερον ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προβιβάζεσθαι.  
Counc. Constant. 1 & 2 Dict. Can. 16.

But if even a Synod of Bishops shall deprive an Orthodox Bishop of any Church, for adhering to the Truths, or Commands of Christ; he is Christ's true Bishop still in that Church, and his faithful Peoples spiritual Head, for all that unjust sentence. For Christ stands by him, who stands by his Doctrines and Precepts; and unjust Depositions on these Accounts, have no more validity in his sight, than unjust Excommunications. For the same Accounts have, as has been already shew'd. But, if there is no Interposition of Synods, but a mere Deprivation of State, that will much less do it. For there is a spiritual Subjection and Dependance of People to their Bishops, especially to such as suffer for adhering to Christian Truths or Precepts, which the civil State cannot break or dissolve. Christ himself, by his Institution, has made a spiritual Relation between them, and antecedently obliged his People to this Union and Adherence to them, as they are *vice Christi*, his Ministers and Vice-gerents, as St. Cyprian \* says. Kings and Civil States, may come afterwards, and tie this spiritual Union and Adherence, faster on, by temporal Dependances and Enforcements. And what they lay on, they may take off again. But the spiritual Relation and Obligations, do not depend on them, but on Christ himself. Religion lays them on, and leaves it not in the Power of any Prince, to cancel or discharge them. They stood fixed, whilst the Church was separate from the State, before any secular Powers came in to protect it; and will still continue, if they turn all their Power, to persecute and oppress it. Nor has our Lord left it to their courtesy, whether there shall be any spiritual Relation betwixt his People and their Pastors, whether they shall keep up their spiritual Relation and Dependance, and he shall have a Church on Earth, or no; as is before discoursed more at large.

\* Ep. 59.  
p. 129.  
Ed. Ox.

The Learned Author, of the *Vindication of Their Majesties Authority in filling the vacant Sees*, \* owns the Advancement of George the Cappa-  
docian

\* p. 19, 20.

docean into the place of *Athanasius*, to have been *Schismatical*, and an *Usurpation and Breach of Catholick Communion*. The setting up of this *Anti-Bishop*, was by a *Deprivation of State*. For *Constantius* took away the Churches from *Athanasius* and his *Adherents*, which is the State-way of depriving Bishops; and gave them to *George the Anti-Bishop* and his *Adherents*. Nay, he sends an *Edict*, to the *Senate and People of Alexandria*, \* requiring them on the *r Allegiance*, (instead of sticking to him as their spiritual Head, with the Affection and Dependance of Members;) with their united Force, to persecute *Athanasius*. And made it criminal in any Persons, as *Sozomen* † relates, to harbour or conceal him. And accordingly, the *Imperial Ministers and Prefects*, violently drove him and the *Orthodox* out of the Churches; and, by extream Force, put *George* and the *Arians*, in possession thereof: And, having placed this *Anti-Bishop* upon his Throne, with all secular Cruelties and barbarous Usage, compell'd the Clergy and People to acknowledge and submit to him. It was also brought about by *Deprivation of Synods*. For after the *Sardinian Synod*, which restored him, *Athanasius* had been again deposed, both by the *Synod of Arles*, and afterwards by the *Synod of Milan*, wherein, besides a few from the *East*, above three hundred Bishops of the *West* met,

as *Sozomen* \* says, and condemned him. And the setting up of *George* against him after this, was in a Synod, viz. the *Synod of Antioch*, † which declared the *Uncanonicalness* of his *Restitution*, and Ordained *George*, as a former Synod at that place had Ordained *Gregory* before, to be Bishop of *Alexandria* in his Room. These, indeed, as the Author of the

*Vindication* \* suggests, were *Heretical Synods*. And *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Eusebius of Vercelles*, *Paulinus of Trier*, and *Rhoan*, and *Lucifer*, who at *Milan* protested against their Proceedings, declared, that, thro' *Athanasius*, the Emperor and the *Arians* his Enemies, were striking at the *Catholick Faith*; which the event of things, and the Proceedings afterwards in the

*Synods of Ariminum and Seleucia*, verified, as *Sozomen* \* observes. But in way of external Judicature, the *Deprivation*, tho' of *Heretical Synods*, must at least carry with it as much Plea, as *Deposition* by no Synods can pretend to; there being more shew of Ecclesiastical Authority, in Acts of *Heretical Synods*, than in none at all.

But for all this *Deposition*, both by the *Imperial Edicts*, and *Synodical Sentences*, since the true Cause thereof was his firmness and constancy to the *Catholick Faith*, *Athanasius*, as the foresaid Author owns, still kept on his spiritual Relation, and the People their spiritual and Religious Obligations to, and Dependance on him. So that *George*, as he

\* P. 19. 20

\* says, was an *usurping Invader*, a *breaker of Catholick Communion*, and a *Ring-leader of a Schism in the Catholick Church*, when he set up against him. And the same it would be, in the case of any other Bishop deprived by the like Authority, for his *Fidelity* and *fixt Adherence*, to any

other



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other Truths, or Laws of *Christ*. For his faithful Bishops must stick to him, in all other Points of Christian Truth and Practice, as well as in the Orthodoxy of the *Nicene Faith*. And that against the Depri- vations, of all other States and Synods, as well as of the *Arians*. And their sticking to *Christ* in these Points, can give no liberty to their Clergy and People, to break off from them. Their stedfastness there- in, must tye all faithful Members faster to them; but can never be ex- pounded, as a conscionable discharge of their spiritual Obligations, and Dependence on them.

If a Schism is made in a Church then, by a defection from the right- ful Orthodox Bishop thereof, laid aside, either by a Civil State or Ec- clesiastical Synod, only for his faithful Adherence to the Doctrines, or Laws of *Christ*; or by turning over to an Anti-Bishop, set up against him: 'Tis plain, the Anti-Bishops, with their Makers and Adherents, make the Schism. They were all Members of the one Body, whilst they kept subject and united to the Rightful Bishop, who is the Head of it. But when they broke off from him, they divided themselves from the Body; and formed themselves under an opposite Head, into a new and opposite Body. But he, and his Adherents, still preserve the U- nity of the true Body. The breakers off, make the Division; but they,

preserve their Union. As those Branches do, \* which still grow to the Tree, when others are broke off from it; and those Streams, which still communicate with the Fountain, when others are stopt; and those Rays, which keep connected to the Sun, when others are interrupted: Which Simili-udes, St. Cyprian makes choice of, to set off the Unity of the Church, and to shew that they preserve this Union, who keep to the same Head and Origine. What they do therefore in these Cases, by sticking to each other as they did before, when others break off, is not to make the Schism, but only not to follow and run into it. And they are no more charge-

\* Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur: quo modo so- lis multi radii, sed lumen unum: Et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum: Et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, nu- merositas licet diffusa videatur exun- dantis copię largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Sic in Ecclesia, tho' radii, rami, & rivi, be most Nu- merous, unum tamen Caput est & O- rigo una, & una Mater Fœcunditatis successibus copiosa, Cyp. de Unit. Eccl. p. 108.

able with the division for this, than the General and his faithful Soul- diers would be in an Army, for not going over to the Mutineers; or than a King and his Loyal Subjects would be in a Kingdom, for not turning over and submitting to the Rebels. But as the Anti-Bishops and their Party make the Schism, by departing from the lawful Head and true Body, they must amend it by returning to it: And they stand answerable to God, so far as I see, for all the Guilt, and sad Consequences and Effects thereof, if they refuse so to do.

2. Secondly, The Unity of any Church doth not go with the greatest Numbers;



*Of the Schism of Particular Members from their own Church, Part 3.*

*Numbers:* but when a Schism is made by a defection of Members from their spiritual Head, and setting up of Anti-Bishops, the Schism is still the same, how numerous soever the Members are that break off. For breaking off from their rightful Head and Governour, as I have shew'd, makes the Schism: And then, the greatness of the Number of those who do so, can only make it a greater Schism. Number in Schism, or in any other ill thing, may add Confidence, and leave less Hope of reclaiming those who are engag'd therein. For *Multitude*, as the *Antient Author of the \* Comment on St. Matthew*, printed among the Works of *St. Chrysostom*, observes, is the *Mother of sedition, and of contumacy and incurableness therein; whereas Paucity, or Smalness of their Number, is the Mistress of Discipline*. But it doth not lessen the Guilt, nor alter the Nature of it, but Schismatics are answerable for their Schism, be they never so many of them.

That which makes any meeting of Orthodox Christians, offering up a regular and establish'd Service, to be in the *Unity of the Church*, is their meeting under one, who officiates therein according to their own Bishops approbation and allowance. For the *Unity of the Body* lyes in keeping one

\*Part 3. Chap. 5. with him. And the Catholick and Canonical Rule, as I shall \* afterwards shew, of keeping one with them, is by celebrating all Publick Offices and Divine Service, with their allowance and approbation. So that,

where any Presbyters, or Deacons perform the establish'd Offices, according to the mind of their own Orthodox and Rightful Bishops; they officiate in the Unity of the Church, though it be but to a few, and to those met in Corners. And where any others celebrate their Offices, without the Licence, and against the Approbation of their own Orthodox and Rightful Bishops; they officiate in a Schism, though it be among the fullest Congregations, and with secular encouragements, and in the publick Authorized Churches. The having their Orthodox and true Bishops Approbation and Concurrence, makes them no Schismatics, and their Meetings no Conventicles, when *Conventicle* notes, not a small, or secret, but a schismatical Assembly; as it always doth, when

it is a Word of Infamy and Reproach. \*The Canon counts it a Conventicle, when any Minister in a private Oratory, against the allowance and approbation of him, who is chief Priest in the Country, says *Balsamon on the Canon* forbidding Ministrations contrary to the Bishops mind and approbation.

\*Παρά- συναγω- γὴν ὁ κα- τὰν ἡγί- ουν τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις πρὸς τὴν ἐκ- κλησίαν οὐκ ἐπὶ γνώμῃ τοῦ κατὰ χάριν Ἀρχιερέως, Balsamon in Can. 31. Concil. in Trullo.

And it has not been so strange a sight in the World, as every good mind would wish it had, to see Schismatics from the Body make a more Numerous Party, than those, who keep united to it. In the Division of *Israel* from *Judah*, under *Jeroboam*, the *Israelites*, who fell off from the

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One Altar at Jerusalem, to other Altars of their own erecting, were guilty of the Schism: Tho' they who stuck to that one Altar, were but two Tribes; and those defectors who broke off from it, were Ten. The Arians, as they were Hereticks for subverting the true Faith; so likewise were they all Schismaticks, by breaking off from the Communion of their Rightful Bishops, as of Athanasius at Alexandria, of Paulus at Constantinople, of Lucius at Adrianople, of Asclepas at Gaza, of Marcellus at Ancyra, &c. and by enjoyning all every where to break Communion with them, and to receive and communicate with those Anti-Bishops, whom they had set up against them. And in the Patriarchate of Alexandria more particularly, the Meletians, who before had made a Schism in that Church, fell into their Party; as \* Schism, to maintain it self, too often, yea-always, says St. Jerom, takes up with, and ends in Heresie. But these Arians who made the Schism, were abundantly more Numerous, than those faithful Christians, who kept to the Unity of the Catholick Church; the whole World at one time groaning, as \* St. Jerome says, and admiring to see it self turn'd Arian. Again, the Donatists were notoriously guilty of the Schism made in the African Churches. But yet, when they over-run Africk, they could glory and vaunt themselves in their diffuseness, and in the greatness of their Number. So that Schism is compatible, with the greatest Numerousness of Adherents, if that Number is of Men combined together against their Orthodox Rightful Bishops; and the Unity of the Church, with the smallest Numbers, if that Number is of Members, that constantly adhere to them.

And this may likewise appear from those Similitudes, of the Unity betwixt the Head and Members, the Tree and Branches, &c. whereby the Ancients set out the Unity of the Church. For be the Branches more or fewer, which keep united to the Body, they make the Tree. And be the Members few or many, which stick on to the Head or living Trunk, they make the Body. And so, be their Numbers greater or less, do the Adherers to the Orthodox Rightful Bishop, make the one Church.

Indeed, as the Root has the Branches; so the Bishop, has the Clergy and People, virtually in himself. That is, as he gets Profelytes, he can make them Christians; and out of these, he can Ordain Presbyters, and Deacons; So to \* Head a Body of Clergy and People professing Christianity, which, according to the sense of the Primitive Fathers, is a Christian Church. And thus a Bishop, though appearing only with a few Members about him, will make a Church; and is qualified duly

\* Nullum Schisma non sibi aliquam confingit Hæresin, ut recte ab Ecclesia recessisse videatur, Hieron. Comment. in Ep. ad Tit. c. 3. in verba Hæreticum hominem, &c.

\* Hieron. adv. Lucifer, p. 98. b. Ed. Col.

\* Ecclesia in Episcopo, & Clero, & in omnibus

stantibus fit constituta, Cyr. Ep. 33. p. 66. And speaking of the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, ὁμοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιᾶ ἡ καλεῖται, says St. Ignatius, Ep. ad Trallian p. 48.

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to spread it, and to make it more Numerous: As the blessed Apostles did, when they set up at first to gather Churches; and as the first Bishops did also, who were taken out of the first Converts, and Ordained

\* *Τῶν πολλῶν πίστευν, Clem.*  
Ro. Ep. i. ad Cor. p. 89. Ed. Ox.

at the Head of them, to be Bishops of those who should afterwards believe. So that the reducing of an Orthodox Rightful Bishop, to a comparatively little Number of Adherents, will not hinder him and his Followers from making up the one Body, and being the one Church. And

as such, our Lord will give ear to them, as St. Cyprian observes, though they be but two or three gathered together in his Name, rather than to a greater Number of Schismatical Dividers. To this Promise of his Presence, with two or three, or such small Numbers, our Lord promises, says

\* De unit. p. 112  
† Osten- dit magis esse se, cum duo-

\* he, that these two or three be in the Unity of the Church, and pre- serve the Concord of Peace. † And shews himself thereby, to be more with two or three such Petitioners, than with a great Number of Schismatical Dividers.

bus aut tribus unanimiter orantibus, quam cum dissidentibus plurimis, Ib. p. 113.

And if Number of Adherents will not, much less will any Places of Assemblies, make such Members, as are broken off from their Orthodox Rightful Bishops, to have the Unity of the Body with them, or to be the one Church. For since the Anti-Bishop, with his Followers, are all Members broke off from their true and lawful Head; they must needs be a Schism, though they assemble in the most Authorised Places, and Publick Churches. And since, in the Orthodox and Rightful Bishop with his Adherents, we see the Members keeping united to their Head, they must needs retain that Unity of the Body, though driven to seek shelter in the Wilderness, or to meet in Corners. Such little Flocks, are still the one Church; though, like the first Christians, in the Persecution raised against them by the Jews, they are kept out of the Temple and all the publick Synagogues, and must be content to celebrate Divine Service, and hold their Religious Assemblies, \* in upper Rooms.

\* Acts 1.  
13. & c.  
20. 7, 8.

3. Thirdly, Therefore in Pressing of Ecclesiastical Unity on the Consciences of Men, the Preachers of Peace and Unity must press them to keep united to their own Orthodox and Rightful Bishop, not to unite themselves to any other Bishop set up against him. For the Unity, which they are bound in Conscience to keep up, is an Unity under him; so Unity, if rightly urged, will bind all to him, but rend none from him.

No Precepts occur more frequently in the New Testament, than those requiring Love and Brotherly Charity, and Peace, and Unity among Christians. And these are meant to tie them to each other, not only in their private Capacity and Converse; but as they are incorporated into a spiritual Society, and, as so many \* live Stones are to be cemented

\* 1 Pet.  
2. 5.

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## Chap. I. in throwing off Subjection &amp; Dependance on their own Bishops. 17

and compacted into one *Holy Temple*; or, as so \* many Members, are \* Rom. 12. 4, 5. to be knit together and built up into one *Body Politick*, or Church. & 1 Cor. 12. 12. They are call'd to *Charity and Peace in one Body*, as St. Paul says, Col. 3. 14. 15. And the *Christian Charity*, is to be a Charity that keeps Unity of Society, that edifies, and doth not divide the Church, 1 Cor. 8. 1. on which Account he says, that where the Members are acted by the Virtue, and shew the care of *Charity*, there will be no *Schism in the Body*, 1 Cor. 12. 25, 26. Its Work, is to compact, and joyn together the Members, the *Body* diffusing it self in *Love*; Eph. 4. 16.

And to do this, or to keep them in united Corporations or Societies, they must keep them united, not only to one another, but to their Orthodox and Rightful Bishops in the first place. That *Peace*, which must secure their Peace as an incorporate Society, must first bind them to be at Peace with them. And that Union, which must keep them one Society, must keep all dependant on, and united to them; and suffer none to break off, or divide from them. And that *Love and Charity*, which is to be the Ligament of a *Politick Body*, must bind the Members to the Head, or the Subjects to the Governors; and bar all Factionous Combinations against them, or Defection to any others.

And therefore the Scripture-Precepts, of *Love*, and *Brotherly Charity*, and *Peace and Unity*, must never be pleaded to draw men off from their own Orthodox Rightful Bishop, but to make them cleave fast to him. And to call men to unite with an Anti-Bishop, is not to call them to keep these Precepts, but to transgress them. And thus 'tis often represented by St. Cyprian. He \* tells the Contemners of their own Bishops, and Adherers to Opposite Bishops, that they have none of that *Charity* which St. Paul requires, and without which † he declares to the *Corinthians*, that they would receive no Profit by dying *Martyrs*; because ‖ they have not kept to the *Unity of the Church*. And gives the \* Setters up of opposite and profane *Altars*, to understand, that so they rebel against the *Peace of Christ*, and against the *Ordinance and Unity of God*. That they thereby † break the bond of the *Lrds peace*, and violate *Brotherly Charity*, and rend *Christian Unity*. And to those *Confessors at Rome*, who had sided with the *Schismatick Novatian* against *Cornelius*, he suggests, how ‖ therein they had separated themselves from the *Flock of Christ*, and from his *Concord and Peace*. So that the breach and overthrow of these *Christian Duties*, of *Fraternal Charity*, *Peace*, and *Unity*, must not be charg'd

\* De Unit, Eccles. p. 113, 114. & Ep. 55. p. 114.

† 1 Cor. 13. 3.

‖ -- Exhibere se non potest Martyrem, qui fraternam non tenuit charitatem, De Unitate Eccl. p. 113.

\* Sic Altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra Pacem Christi & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebelatur, Ep. 3. p. 6.

† Hinc Dominicæ Pacis vinculum rumpitur, hinc Charitas Fraternal violatur, hinc Unitas scinditur, dum obtrahatur Sacerdotibus, &c. Cyp. de Zelo & Livore, p. 223.

‖ — Dum vosmetipsos a Christi Grege, & ab ejus Pace & Concordia separatis, Cyp. Ep. 46. p. 89.



*Of the Schism of Particular Members from their own Church, Part 3.*  
 charg'd on any, for adhering to their true Head, and Orthodox Rightful Bishop, but are justly chargeable on the other side.

As to the first way of Schism therefore, viz. in particular Members breaking off unduely from the Unity of their own Church, and from their due Subjection and Dependance on their own Bishops, to omit other Instances thereof, 'tis plain a Schism is then made, when Bishop is set up against Bishop in the same Church. And the makers thereof, are the New or Anti-Bishop and his Adherents, if the former Bishop is Orthodox, and has not clogg'd his Communion with any unlawful Terms, or with requiring a throwing up of Rights and Liberties, and a Submission to Unrighteous and Uncanonical Usurpations. Yea, though such former Rightful Bishop, stand deprived by an Act of State, or even of a Synod; if what he is deprived for, be his firmness in sticking, either to the Doctrines, or to the Laws and Commands of Christ; and what the other is set up for, be his easiness in transgressing and forsaking them. So that in Religion they are Schismatics, though the State espouse them, and set them up for the civilly establish'd and endowed Church. As the ten Tribes were in Israel, though the civil State formed that Schism; and the Arians, when they broke off from their Rightful Orthodox Bishops, albeit they had the Emperors to back them; and the English Schismatics, when, in the days of the Great Rebellion, they fell off, not only from their Bishops, but from Episcopacy it self, and were settled and upheld therein by the Usurpers of that Time; and as the Anti-Episcopal Church of Scotland at this Day are, notwithstanding all that Establishment the secular Arm has given them. Yea, and nevertheless Schismatics, though they can glory over the other, in having by far the greater Numbers; and in having sole Possession of the Publick Churches, and Places of Assemblies. And as the Anti-Bishop and his Party, in such Cases make the Schism; it lyes on them, and they must be applyed to, to mend it. And the Gospel-Precepts, of Charity, Peace, and Unity, if they are truly press'd, must be urg'd to make his own Adherents stick to the Rightful Bishop, and to bring those Members, who are broken off, to return to him: but are not truly enforced, but corruptly misapplyed and perverted, even to call for what they directly forbid, if they are urg'd for uniting with the other side.

But whoever are guilty of making a Schism, it would be a most pious and praise worthy part in any that shall cure it. And in the suffering side most of all, if, by over-looking their own personal and private Claims, and mastering all private resentments, as mortified and most publick spirited Men, they can make an end thereof by letting fall their own pretensions. And why, will many good Minds, and sincere Lovers of Peace say, should they not do this for the Love of Peace, and for Religions sake and the Churches? Their Adversaries, indeed,

can not have the face to ask it. And others, who may move better therein, would be modest in pressing liberality on Losers, and not go too far in urging them, who have suffered so much already from the Invaders, as if they had not taken enough from them, to fall upon themselves and throw them what remains. Yet they think it would be a noble Pitch in Vertue, full of Glory and Goodness, if of themselves they would prefer Publick-Weal before private Passions and Advantages, and be full of Care for others, when that needs to be shewn in caring least for themselves. Which Heavenly-mindedness and publick-spiritedness, and Mortification to private Interests, God and the Church, they conceive, must needs take most kindly at their hands.

But as to this, the suffering Bishops can not take this way of Cure, *by giving up their Claims*, where they are bound in duty to insist on them. And that they are bound to do, as I have already shewn at large, in the forementioned Cases. By their quitting there, they would surrender the Souls of their Charge, to become a Prey to Wolves and Seducers, and to be trained up in wicked and corrupt Doctrines, Prayers, and Practices. And this, is not to be true to their Pastoral Trusts. 'Tis not faithfully to discharge their Cure of Souls, but perfidiously to throw it off. So that be they never so mortified, and negligent of themselves, and zealously studious of Unity and the Churches Peace; yet in Fidelity to Christ, and to the People whom he has entrusted to their Charge, they must hold on their spiritual relation, I conceive, and diligently discharge it the best they can at such times; and not desert, but stick to the Church, over which the Holy Ghost hath made them *Overseers*.

Besides, the exercise of their spiritual Ministrations is loudly call'd for in such Cases, and bound on them and the suffering Clergy their Brethren, by all the Powers and Characters of the Ministerial Office; as I think may fully appear from what I have said on that point before. And not only the continuance of their former Relation, as the true Bishops still of those places; but this very exercise, must in consequence keep up a schism in the Church, at such times. For this exercise of their Ministrations, must be *in separate Bodies*. The state, incorporateing and espousing the Anti-Bishops and their Adherents, will give them the Publick Churches: And Depriving and Persecuting the other and their Followers, will also be sure to keep them out thereof. So, their Ministrations, if they go on Ministering at all, as 'tis plain they ought, must be in separate places and Assemblies. Yea, and by different ways of exercise: the spiritual administrations of one, being purely spiritual, in the way of a destitute and persecuted; but those of the other, being mixt, in the way of an incorporate and endowed Church.

And therefore in all the foremention'd cases, where the suffering Bi-

shops.

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shops are still bound, for the interest of Religion and of Souls, to insist upon their Episcopal Claims and their Relation to their Churches, and with their brethren of the other Clergy, still to go on in a faithful discharge of their Ministrations; this way of Cure, can have no place. But as the Anti-Bishops, by breaking off from them, and from those Christian Principles and Practices whereto they stand firm, have made the Schism; so they alone, by a Penitential return, are capable to mend it: It not admitting of Remedy in those Cases, and under such state of things, from any other hands.

And this may be sufficient, as to the true and suffering Bishops, and shew how little the Arguments, from the desirableness and duty of Union, will affect them in those cases. When the Church is Rent by such a deplorable schism, as the precedent discourse shews *who make it*; so this, I think, is enough to shew *who can mend it*, and to whom alone the lovers of peace and unity are to apply themselves for remedy at such times.

C H A P.

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C H A P. II.

*Of the Schism of Particular Churches from other Sister-Churches, by their rejecting of Fraternal Communion therewith.*

BESIDES this first way of Schism, viz. of particular Members breaking off unjustly from the Unity of their own Church, by throwing off their Subordination and Subjection to their own Bishops: There is a second, viz. of particular Churches breaking off unjustly from the Communion of other Sister-Churches. And this is by rejecting Fraternal Communion with them, denying to worship God in their Assemblies, or to admit their Members to worship in ours, or communicating with those who stand excommunicated by them, or have made a Schism from them.

Our Lord, is not only for having the Christians of every Place or Country, to keep Unity with their own particular Church: but also, as noted before, for having all particular Churches, to keep up the Unity of one Body among themselves. All his Sheep he has gathered into one Flock, Joh. 10. 16. All the Assemblies both of Jews and Gentiles, he has reconciled to God in one Body, Eph. 2. 14, 16. calling all his Followers, to profess Christianity in one Body, as St. Paul says, Col. 3. 15. Accordingly, Baptism, which makes them all Christians, lists or inrolls them all in one Corporation, we being all baptised into one Body, 1 Cor. 12. 13. And the Holy Eucharist, which is the other Great Sacrament and solemn Undertaking of Christianity, confederates them into one spiritual Corporation, we being all made in that to drink into one Spirit, 1 Cor. 12. 13. And, tho' many, being one Body, as partaking therein of one Bread, 1 Cor. 10. 16, 17. This Union of all Christians and Christian Congregations, into one Society under Jesus Christ, makes that Body the Church, whereof he is the Head, Col. 1. 18. which the Scripture sometimes expresses, by one Temple, Eph. 2. 21. or spiritual House, 1 Pet. 2. 5. or one Family and Household, Eph. 2. 19. & c. 3. 15. as I observed above. And which is that one Holy Catholick Church, betwixt all the parts whereof the Communion of Saints is to be maintained, as all Christians profess in the Creed.

This Union of all particular Churches as one Body under himself, our Lord has appointed to be kept up by all the Members thereof, as occasion is; but chiefly, by the Union and Accord of the Bishops and Pastors, who are the respective Heads of those particular Churches.

This whole Church is made one Body, by one Spirit, Eph. 4. 4. so the Unity thereof, is call'd the Unity of the Spirit, v. 3. And one great means



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means of the Spirits keeping up this Unity, is by the Ministration of Pastors and Teachers, which he gave as Gifts, for the edifying, or compacting and building up all Christians into this Body of Christ, v. 8. 11, 12. To these Pastors, the Spirit has given different Offices, Rom. 12. 4. One, having the Office of *ministring*; another, of *teaching*; another, of *ruling*, v. 6, 7, 8. Or different Administrations, 1 Cor. 12. 9. *setting some in the Church in the Station of Apostles; some, of Teachers; some of Governments*, v. 28. placing some in higher, some in lower stations, according to the measure of that Grace or Office, (the Word Grace being often \* used to express Ministerial Powers) which he saw fit to commit to them, Eph. 4. 7. 11. But all those different Offices, are set for keeping all Christians in one Body, Rom. 12. 4. 5. and all the Diversity of Ministries, is to continue them the Body of Christ, and to cement the Members, who are many, into one Body, 1 Cor. 12. 27, 28. & v. 12. 20. and all the variety of Gifts (i. e. of Offices, v. 11.) or distributions of higher or lower stations, are for edifying or laying together the Members into this Body, and for preserving the Unity thereof, Eph. 4. 4, 8, 12.

The Head of this Body, is Jesus Christ himself. And from Christ the Head all the Body is knit together, says St. Paul, by those joyns and bands which minister nourishment, i. e. by the Pastors, who are set to feed it, Col. 2. 19. From Christ the Head, says he again, the whole Body is fully joyn'd and compacted together, by those joyns which make supplies according to their measure, or according to their several stations in the work of the Ministry, Eph. 4. 15, 16. And on account of this use, of their uniting all Christians under Christ the Head into this one Body, or all the several Societies of Christians into one Church; when this one Church is compared to a Natural Body, they are represented as the Joyns, and as the Bands or Ligaments, which unite and compact the Members, as they are by St. Paul in these places.

And thus it was in the Opinion of the Ancient Church, who placed the Unity of all Churches, in the Unity and Accord of all the Bishops thereof. \* The Catholick Church, which is one, saith St. Cyprian, is cemented or coupled together, by the glue or joyns accord of its Bishops abiding mutually to one another. † All faithful People, are joyn'd together into the solid Unity of one Body, by the glue of this Concord. — And if || fall from this Concord, and separate from the College of Bishops, is to separate from the Bond of the Church, as he elsewhere says.

\* Ecclesia, quæ Catholica, una est, co-hærentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata est.

Cyp. Ep. 66. p. 168. Ed. Ox. † — Christus unus, & una Ecclesia cyprianica, & Fides una, & Plebs in solidam Corporis unitatem concordie glutino copulata, Id. de unit. Eccl. p. 119. || — Se ab Ecclesiæ vinculo atque a Sacerdotum Collegio separat, Id. Ep. 55. p. 112.

To keep up this Unity in the whole Church, they believed all BISHOPS strictly obliged to keep Unity among themselves.

\* Bishops

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Chap. 2. *by their rejecting Fraternal Communion therewith.*

\* Bishops, who preside in the Church, ought above all Men to keep firmly united, that we may maintain the Episcopate it self, one and undivided. They looked upon the Bishops of all the several Independant Churches, to be as so many Members of one great Fraternity or College. † Optatus calls them, the College of Bishops. And before him, St. Cyprian styles them, || the College and Corporation of Priests; and calls all other Bishops, his Collegues. Particular Bishopricks, are all Members one of another, and \* all together, as he says, are to make but one Great Episcopate. --- And among this Multitude of Bishops, † as there is but one Church, so there is but one Chair. And || as three Persons in the sacred Trinity, make up but one God, wherein the power of all three is one, and undivided: So doth all the great Diversity of Prelates, make up but one Priesthood, says Symmachus.

Now this Unity, the Bishops and Pastors keep up among several Churches, not by the Subjection of all other Bishops, to some one, or more, set up above all the rest. Particularly, not by the paramount Authority and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, which is neither to be found in Scripture, nor is agreeable to the Accounts thereof, nor to the Belief and Practice of the Primitive Church, nor to the Universal Diffusedness designed for Christs Church, under all the Divisions of Kingdoms, and Interruptions of secular Accord and Correspondence here on Earth.

But by maintaining Fraternal Concord and Communion among themselves. They cement into one Episcopate, concordi numerositate, by their Concord under this Numerosity, as we are \* told by St. Cyprian. † They are bound or coupled into one body, by the glue of mutual Concord, as he says again. Which Ecclesiastical Concord and Fraternal Communion, lyes in owing each other, and all the Christians of their several Churches, as Brethren and Members; and in ratifying the great Acts of Society pass'd among them, as if they had been pass'd among themselves. And in having this Communion, not Arbitrary and Discretionary, which may be fixt at will upon their own terms, and either kept up, or rejected, as they please: But a Communion kept on out of bounden Duty, and by Rules, being to give account to Christ the chief Bishop for the breach thereof.

\* Quam unitatem firmiter tenere & vindicare debemus, maxime Episcopi, qui in Ecclesia præsides, ut Episcopatum quoque ipsum, unum atque indivisum probemus, Cyp. de unit. Eccl. p. 108. Ed. Ox.

† Quia Collegium Episcopale nolumus habere nobiscum commune, Sc. Optat. l. 1. p. 34. Ed. Par. Albaspin.

|| — A Sacerdotum Collegio sepe-rat, Sc. Cyp. Ep. 55. p. 112.

— Copiosum est Corpus Sacerdotum, si quis ex Collegio nostro hæresin, Sc. Id. Ep. 68. p. 178. Ed. Ox.

\* — Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordii numerositate diffusus, Cyp. Ep. 55. p. 112.

† — Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una, Ep. 43. p. 83.

|| — Nam dum ad Trinitatis instar, cujus una est & individua Potestas, unum sit per diversos Antistites Sacerdotium, Symmachus Papa Ep. 1. ad Eonium Arelatensem Episc. pag. 675. Tom. 3. Concil. Ed. Bin.

\* Ep. 55. p. 112.

† Copiosum est corpus Sacerdotum concordie mutue glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, Cyp. Ep. 68. p. 178.

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To this it is requisite, that they *profess the same true Faith and Christian Worship*. This is the Foundation of all other Communion among them. The *one Body*, being made up of those, who hold to the *one Faith*, Eph. 4. 4. and the Communion in this Body, being required between those, who communicate in this one Faith and Worship, as shall be shewn more fully \* afterwards.

\* Chap.

3. 4.

And among all Orthodox Bishops and Churches, who profess the true Christian Faith and Worship, the Rules of Communion and Correspondence, required by *Christ* for keeping up this Unity of his Body, are such as these:

1. *That all Orthodox Bishops and Churches, receive each others Members, as if they were their own Members.* All the Members of Christ's Church are Fellow-Citizens, or enfranchised Denizens, wheresoever they come, and upon any new Change of Place or Christian Country, have no need of a new Naturalization. They ought to find a home in all Churches, and may claim their Baptismal Privileges, or the benefits of the Christian Coporation or Society, and can not justly be repulsed or denied the same, as being free of the whole Body. For *Baptism*, which makes them Members, by the institution of Christ incorporates them all, not only into those several Churches or Congregations, where they receive it, but into the whole Body or Fraternity. *We are all baptized, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, into one Body*, says St. Paul, 1 Cor. 12. 13.

\* Eph. 2.

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And accordingly no Church must exclude them, as \* *Strangers* or *Foreigners*; but own and receive them as *Fellow-citizens*, as † *Members*, as † *Domesticks*, as \* *Brethren*, and of the same † *Family* with themselves.

† Ro. 12.

5. 1 Cor.

12. 27.

† *Οἰκείας*

θεῶν, Eph.

2. 19.

\* Act. 11.

29. & c.

And this is necessary, to maintain that *Brotherhood*, which Christ has constituted among all his *Members*; every *Christian* being *Brother* to another; so that *Brother*, is usually || put to signify a *Christian* in the Holy Scripture.

15. 23.

Rom. 16. 14.

2 Cor. 11. 9.

1 Thes. 4. 10.

† Eph. 3. 15.

|| Rom. 14. 10.

1 Cor. 5. 11.

& c. 7. 15.

Rom. 16. 23.

2 Thes. 3. 6.

They must also own and receive *their Orders*, when they have been lawfully call'd to *Spiritual Powers*, and to the *Work of the Ministry*, in their own Churches. For *Ordination*, as well as *Baptism*, is not only in respect to the Church of such a Place, but to Christ's Church at large. Limitations there are, as to the Exercise of these Powers, as may make for the preservation of Order and Union. And in care of Unity and Peace, Bishops and Priests of any Church must observe these, in acting Episcopally or Sacerdotally, whilst they converse in other Churches. But having any where received a Lawful and Canonical Ordination, they are to be owned as Ministers of Christ wheresoever they come, and need no more to be *Ordained*, than other Members need to be *baptized* over again.

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Chap. 2. *by their rejecting Fraternal Communion therewith.*

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So that they are Schismatics, and break this *Unity of the Body*, appointed to be kept up between all particular Churches and their Members, who reject the Members, or Canonical Ministers, of any other Orthodox Churches. As they do, who Unchurch them, or deny Communion to their Members, unless they will submit to unrighteous Claims and Usurpations, or joyn in unlawful Worship, or erroneous Doctrines; or who reject their Lawful and Canonical Ministers, unless they will receive new Orders: which are so many Breaches of that *Brotherhood*, which Christ has Ordained among Churches, and are the making of a Schism in the *Catholick Church*.

2. All Orthodox Bishops and Churches, are to refuse each others Schismatics, and Excommunicates; as if they were their own Schismatics or Excommunicates. And upon their Reconciliation, and Re-union to their own Churches; to let them in, and receive them again, as if they had been immediately reconciled, and re-united to themselves. Which ways, of mutually receiving, or rejecting, of priviledging or debarring Members; make that *Unity of Discipline*, which by Order of Christ, and according to the Sense and Belief of the Primitive Fathers, is one great way, of compacting the vast number of Christian Societies into one Body, or of keeping up the *Unity of Christs Church*. \* *All we Christians, are incorporated or made one Body*, says Tertullian, as by the Belief of the same Religion, and the Covenant of Hope, so by the *Unity of Discipline*. And when any one Bishop or Church has done any thing, † *We are all thought to have done the same*, by appearing associated and united in the same consent of censure and discipline, say the Clergy of Rome to St. Cyprian.

\* *Corpus sumus, de conscientia Religionis, & disciplinae unitate, &*

*Spei foedere, Tert. Apol. c. 39. † Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censuræ & disciplinae consensione sociati, Cler. Ro. ap. Cyp. Ep. 30. p. 56.*

1. They are to refuse each others Schismatics, as if they were their own Schismatics. For, as the holding on civil Communion with Traytors, is judged Treason: So is holding on spiritual Communion with Schismatics, judged Schism. They must take part; and keep one with the Church. And so, whilst the Breach lasts, must disclaim and keep off from those separate Members, who stand divided and broke off from it; avoiding those that cause Divisions, as St. Paul orders, Rom. 16. 17. Accordingly, St. Basil lets the Neocæsareans know, when they seemed about to break and divide from him, and from his Church of Cæsarea, that \* *if any avoided, or broke off from his Communion, they would be broke off withal from the Universal Church, which held Communion with him.*

\* *ὁ ἀποχωρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρήγνυται*

*ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς*

*ἐκκλησίας*

† *We ought not to have Communion in Prayers, with any Heretick, or Schismatic, Basil. Ep. 75. Vers. fin. † Οὐ δεῖ ἀμειψικῶς ἢ χρισματικῶς συνέχειν, Concil. Laod. Can. 33.*

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\* Μη ἐξῆναι ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑποδεχέσθαι πλὴν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ συναγομένους, Concil. Antioch. Can. 2.

† Εἰ ἀφορισμένῳ, ἢ πρὶ ἀδελφῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῆναι ἀνδραγράμματος σύστατον, ἀφοριζέσθω ὁ δὲ δεξιόμενός, ὃ δὲ δεχθεὶς, Can. 12. Ap.

¶ Sed & quisque se Conspirationi, & Factioni ejus adjunxerit, sciat se in Ecclesia nobiscum non esse communicaturum, qui sponte maluit ab Ecclesia seperari, Cyp. Ep. 41. p. 80.

can no longer communicate with us in the Church, since he thereby voluntarily chuses rather to separate himself from the Church.

2. They are to refuse each others Excommunicates, as if they were their own Excommunicates. For whatsoever is this way regularly bound in Earth, our Lord declares shall be ratified, or stand bound in Heaven, Mat. 18. 18. & Jo. 20 23. And if it is confirmed in Heaven, it must stand good, and not be thwarted or reversed by any of his Followers here on Earth. When the Members among any Societies of Christians, for their \* disorderly walking, and † not hearing of the Church, are cast out thereof; they are thrown, not only out of the Church of that place, but out of Christ's Church at large, whereof all other Churches are Members; or out of all Christian Churches, into the state of Heathens and Publicans, as our Lord says, Mat. 18. 17.

Accordingly, Synesius Bishop of Ptolemais, in his sentence of Excommunication, denounced against Andronicus, and Thoas, and their Complices, says, \* Let no Temple of God be open to them, but let every Religious Place or Chappel, be shut against them. And St. Basil bids the Neocaesareans take heed, how they break communion with him, † because, after once he should exclude them, no other Catholick

Churches, which all owned him, and held communion with him, would any longer own, or communicate with them. Till they are regularly absolved and reconciled again, all other Bishops and Sister-Churches, are bound to refuse and repel such Excommunicates, as they come to their knowledge. Thus Synesius requires of all Sister-Churches, and of all Christians, to shun the communion of Andronicus and Thoas, and their Adherents, And \* 'tis not lawful to communicate with Persons out of commu-

\* Μη ἐξῆναι καὶ ἑνὶ τῶν ἀποκλιθέντων, Conc. Antioch. Can. 2.

matick, says the Council of Laodicea. \* Nor ought they, who are not of the Assemblies of one Church, to be received or allowed to assemble in another Church, says the Council of Antioch. † If he, who is not to be received in one Church, be received without commendatory Letters in another, let both him who is Received, and his Receiver, be excommunicated, say the Apostolical Canons. ¶ Whoever, says St. Cyprian, speaking of the Schism of Felicissimus, who had schismatically broken off and divided from himself, shall joyn himself to his Conspiracy and Faction, may know that he

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mon, says the Council of Antioch. † If any, either of Clergy, or Laity, † *Εἰ τις* is excommunicated by his own Bishop, let none else receive him to commu- *ὑπὸ τοῦ* nion, till his own Bishop has received him again, or a Synod has cleared *ἰδὲν ἢ* him, say the FATHERS of that Council again. And \* concerning *κόπως ἀ-* those, either of the Clergy, or Laity, who are excluded from communion by *κοινωνή-* the Bishops which are in every Province, let the Sentence be valid according *τῷ γέ-* to the || Canon, which decrees, That they, who are cast out by some, shall not *γινῆ, μὴ* be admitted by others, says the Great Council of Nice. *πρότερον*  
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*ρον δεχ-*

*δύνα* (ἐμὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεχθῆναι τὸ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ,) ἢ συνόδῳ γενομένης καταδέξοιτο ἔτιαν ἀπό- *ορσιν,* Conc. Antioch. Can. 6. vid. & Conc. Sardic. Can. 13. \* Περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων, &c. κρατίσω *ἢ γινώσκον* κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀπεκληθῆναι, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ προσέ- *δου,* Conc. Nic. 1 Can. 5. || Can. Ap. 12. 13.

Thus, when any Persons, or Churches, are schismatically, or by means of just Censure and Penalty, out of Communion with one Orthodox Church; by the Rules of Catholick Communion and Accord among Churches, according to the mind of Christ, and of the Primitive Church, ought they to be out of the communion of all Orthodox Churches. And if any, either Christians, or Churches, will still hold on communion with such Persons; by the foresaid Rules of Union, and the Canons of the Catholick Church, they are thereby made like unto them, and turn makers of a Schism, and are to lose the benefit of Communion themselves. \* If any, says Synesius, in his Ex-communicatory Sentence of Andronicus, &c. shall condemn our Church, as being the Church of a small City, receiving those whom it has cast out, as if Observance were not due to it, by reason of its Poverty: Let him know, that he thereby makes a Schism in the Church, which Christ is for having kept one. And whether he be Bishop, Priest, &c. he shall be the same to us, as Andronicus himself is. † If any shall communicate with one out of communion, he himself shall be shut out of communion, say the Apostolical Canons. || If any Bishop, or Presbyter, receive to communion, those who are deservedly cast out of the Church for their crimes, he shall be tyable to like Punishments, says the Council of Carthage. \* And if any Bishop, Priest, or other of the Clergy, appear to communicate with Persons out of communion, he shall also stand excommunicate himself, as one who confounds the Canons

\* *Εἰ δέ τις* ὡς μικροπολίτην ἀπο- *σχυβαλίσαι* τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δεῖξαι τοῦ ἀποκληρέκτες αὐτῆς, ὡς ἀνὰ γὰρ τῇ πενήτῃ πείθεσθαι. Ἰσθ' ὅσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν μίᾳ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βέλεται. Ὅδ' ἐταῖστο, ἔτε λέξι- *πας ἐστίν,* ἔτε πρεσβύτερο, ἔτε ἐπίσκοπο, παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν Ἀνδρονίκῳ μεί- *ρα τετάχεται,* Synes. Ep. 5. 8.

† *Εἰ τις* ἀκοινωνήτῳ συνεύξηται, *ἔτ' ἀφορίζεσθαι,* Can. 10. Ap.

|| Concil. Carth. Can. 9.

*πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἢ τις τῶν κανόνων τοῖς ἀκοινωνήτοις κοινωνῶν, καὶ τούτων ἀκοινωνήτων* *εἶναι ὡς αὐτὸν* συνεχέοντα τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Conc. Antioch. Can. 2.

\* *Εἰ δέ τις* φανείη *τις τῶν ἐ-* *πισκό-* *πων, ἢ*

## 28 Of the Schism of particular Churches from other Sister-Churches, Part 3.

\*Præloq.  
ante Can  
33. Conc.  
Afric.

and Order of the Church, say the Fathers in the Synod of Antioch.

The Reason of all this is, because Christians, as I said, and as the \* African Fathers observe, though dispersed over the most distant Places and Countries, are but one Society; and, though multiplied into the greatest Number of Assemblies, yet all these make but one

\* Ἐνός σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν τοῖς τε νόμοις ἐν ταῖς δεύταις γραφαῖς τερεῖν συνδεσμον τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γραφεῖν ἡμῶς, καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ παρ' ἐκαστοῦ γινόμενα, ἵνα ἢ ἴτε πάσχει, ἢ ἴτε χαίρει ἐν μέλει, ἢ συμπάσχωμεν, ἢ συγχαίρωμεν ἀλλήλοις, Ep. Synod. Alexand. ap. Soc. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 6. p. 10.

one Body, and we are commanded in the Holy Scriptures, to keep up therein the bond of Unanimity and Peace. And Synesius threatening the Receivers

\* Ἴσα χάρις τὴν καθολικὴν ἐν μίᾳ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βέλτεται.

several Orthodox and Regular Churches of Christendom, are all Members one of another. And from that Communion, which ought to be

\* Φησὶν ὁ κανὼν μίαν ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι τὴν ὁπερὸν ποτε ὄντας ἐκκλησίαις οἰκτικαῖς καὶ νόμοις. Καὶ ἐκ ἐφέλκεσι τινες κληρικοὶ μετὰ τῷ ἀποριθύνειν συνενέχεσθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέραις ὡσιν ἐφορίας. Balsam. in Can. 2. Concil. Antioch.

among Members of the same Body, what belongs to one, belongs to all; and what is broke off from one, is broke off from all. \* The Canon, says Balsamon, (speaking of the 2d. Canon of the Council of Antioch, which forbids the communicating of other Churches, with those, who communicate not with their own Church,) says all Temples and Oratories,

wherever they are make but one Church. And therefore, if any Person

is cast out of the Church, and regularly shut out of the Temples, and Oratories of the Orthodox, in one Country; he ought to be shut out of the Temples and Oratories of all, and not to be received to communion by the Clergy of other Countries.

And like Regard, all particular Churches are bound to have, to each others Reconciliation and Re-union of Members, as to their separation and exclusion of them. As in binding, so also in loosing, our Lord ratifies the Acts of his Officers and Vice-gerents, in all Churches. Whatsoever you shall loose or remit on Earth, the same shall be loosed or remitted in Heaven, Mat. 18. 18. & Jo. 20. 23. And in relaxing or remitting censures, as well as in laying of them upon Offenders, among their respective Charges, Orthodox Bishops act in the Person of Christ, as St. Paul says, 2 Cor. 2. 10. or as Judges vice Christi, Judges that sit in Christ's place,

Chap.

as \* St. or a St. says the received theirs. and M. Saints, therho

And Body, and ass or Exco as they to the broke to do Ortho tholick

And tholick Rule of an Int but one Unanim nise to rest, as shop o And -j in one Letters the Do

fter est concord

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Chap. 2. *by their rejecting Fraternal Communion therewith.*

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as \*St. Cyprian notes of them. *Till their own Bishop has received them, or a Synod has cleared them, no other Bishop must receive them to communion,* says the † *Canon of Antioch* before cited. And after he has once received them into his Communion, no other Bishops must reject them from theirs. They are then re-united again to the Body, and are Brethren and Members; and as such, must be admitted to the Communion of Saints, by all other Orthodox Members of the same Body and Brotherhood, in all places.

\* Ep. 59.  
P. 129.  
Ed. Ox.  
† Can. 6.  
Concil.  
Antioch.

And thus again they are Schismatics, and break that Unity of one Body, which Christ has appointed among all Churches, who induly receive and associate with any other Orthodox and Lawful Churches Schismatics, or Excommunicates. If they would keep one with all Orthodox Churches, as they must look upon all, who are duly united to them, as united to themselves; so must they look upon all, who are duly separated and broke off from them, as separated and broke off from themselves. And to do otherwise, is to break this one Communion, which is to bind all Orthodox Christians into one Body, and to make a Schism in the Catholick Church.

And in farther care and provision, for the maintenance of this Catholick Accord and Communion among all Churches, by the Ancient Rule of the Church, all Orthodox Bishops and Churches, were to keep up an Intercourse by communicatory Letters. Since the Catholick Church is but one Body, and we are commanded in Scripture to keep up the Bond of Unanimity and Peace therein, the consequence hercof is, that we write or signify to each other what is transacted in any of our Churches, that all the rest, as Members, may bear their part in the same; says Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, in his \* Synodical Epistle which I cited before. And † Siricius of Rome, and together with him, the whole World is united in one Communion and Society with us, by the Intercourse of communicatory Letters, says Optatus of the Church of Africk, as it stood divided from the Donatists.

\* Ap. Soc.  
l. 1. c. 6.  
p. 10.  
† Dama-  
so Sirici-  
us hotlie,  
qui no-

ster est socius: cum quo nobis totus Orbis commercio Formatarum in una Communionis societate concordat, Optat. l. 2. p. 48. Ed. Par. Albaspin.

By these Letters an Account was given to other Churches, of any Bishops Advancement, when he was Ordained Bishop of his Church: or of his own Faith, to shew that he and his Church were Orthodox, and so duly qualified for Union with other Orthodox Churches, and fit to be owned as Members of the Body, and admitted as Partners, in the Communion of Saints. And of their own Members, or Ministers, their Schismatics, or Excommunicates; that among all, who should come to them from thence, other Churches might know, whom they were to receive, and whom they were to reject, as either of the same, or

E

of



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 of a different Body with themselves. And also of any other Church-  
 Acts, or Concerns, wherein they could either claim the ratification, or  
 desired the concurrence, or needed the aid, council, or support, or  
 could bear the burdens, help the wants, or congratulate the well-fare,  
 or prosperity of one another.

Now as to these *communicatory Letters*, certifying each others Mem-  
 bers, or Ministers, Schismatics, or Excommunicates, &c. the Catholick  
 Rule of the Ancient Church was, That *no Strangers or Forreigners, should*  
*be admitted to the Communion of any Church, without them.* If they who  
 came, were *Clergy-men*; they were to bring *commendatory Letters*, te-  
 stifying their Orders: Or, if *Laity, pacifical and communicatory*, declar-  
 ing they were in Communion with their own Churches. \* *No Stran-*  
*ger or Forreigner, shall be received without pacifical Letters, say the Coun-*  
*cil of Antioch.* And † *no foreign Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, shall be*  
*received without commendatory Letters, say the Canons of the Apostles.* || *If*  
*there come any strange, or unknown Clergy, let them not by any means, be*  
*any where received to officiate in another City, without their own Bishops*  
*Letters commendatory, says the Great Council of Chalcedon.*

\* Μὴ δέ-  
να ἀνέν-  
ἐπιμὴν  
κὼν δέ-  
χεσθαι  
τῶν ξένων.  
Concil.  
Antioch.  
Can. 7.

† Μὴ δένα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἄνευ σουσατικῶν πρεσβυτέρων δεχέσθαι. Can. 33. Ap. vid. & Can. 42. Laod. || ξένους κληρικούς καὶ ἀγνώστους, ἐν ἐτέρῃ πόλει δίχα σουσατικῶν γραμμάτων οὐκ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, μηδ' ὅλῳ μηδαμῶς λητεργεῖν. Concil. Chalced. Can. 13.

And the *Granting of these Letters*, was reserved to the *Bishops*. With-  
 out their own *Bishops Letters commendatory*, is the Expression of the now  
 cited Canon of Chalcedon. And \* *others under the Episcopal Order, are*  
 restrained from granting them: Even those *Country Presbyters*, whom  
 Balsamon on the Canon calls † *Protopapas*, and who, as || *being in the*  
*Country, where the Bishops were not usually at hand to write them, had*  
*more pretence of granting them, as Zonaras intimates.* And who else,  
 but the *Bishops of the several Churches*, should be capable to grant these  
 Letters? For, \* *since the Church stands, and is fixed upon the Bishops,*  
 as St. Cyprian tells the *Lapse*, it is not for any without the *Bishop* to write  
 Letters, as they had done to himself, in the *Name of the Church.*

\* Μὴ δέ  
πρεσβυ-  
τέρους  
ποῦ ἐν  
ταῖς χώ-  
ραις κα-  
τοικῶν  
ἐπιστολάς  
διδόναι.  
Concil.  
Antioch.  
Can. 8.

† Προτοπαπίας, || Ταῦτας δὲ προσεῖπες τῷ ἐκκλησιῶν διδόναν, ὃ μὲν τοὶ πρεσβύτεροι, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἔνθα μὴ συγχάζει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, Zon. in Can. 8. Conc. Antioch. \* Ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur. nec Ecclesiae nomine Literas facere debent, Cyp. Ep. 33. p. 66.

But more especially was the Grant thereof reserved to the *Primates*  
 and *Metropolitans*, who were to write and receive *Synodical Letters*,  
 and to keep up Communion between the Churches of several Provinces.

Thus St. Basil expresses his Communion with all Churches, \* *by all Churches*  
 sending *communicatory Letters* to him, and receiving the same from him. And  
 μὴς γράμματα, καὶ πάλιν δέχεται παρ' ἡμῶν, Basil. Ep. 75. Vers. fin.

\* Πᾶσι  
πᾶσι τε  
πρὸς ἡ-  
μᾶς

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on the Deposition of *Marcianus at Arles*, \* *St. Cyprian* desires *Stephen Bishop of Rome*, to signify to him who was substituted in his place, that he might know to whom he should send the Brethren, and direct his communicatory Letters. And

\* Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem Fratres nostros dirigere, et cui scribere debeamus, *Cyp. Ep. 68. p. 179.*

this, the Synod of *Antioch* gives us a Reason, of their writing to *Dionysius of Rome*, and *Maximus of Alexandria*, and to all other Bishops, on their placing of *Domnus* in the See of *Antioch* upon the Deposition of *Paulus Samosatenus*: Which, say \* they, We therefore signify to you, that you may write your communicatory Letters to him, and receive the like from him. So that none, who were out of Communion with their own Bishops and Metropolitans, could be allowed to communicate any whereelse.

ὅτι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῆς καὶ ἰνὰ δέχοντες ὑπομνᾶται, *Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 30.*

CHAP. III.

*Of just Grounds to break off Communion, particularly of making impious and unlawful things, or unrighteous Usurpations and Incroachments, the Terms of their Communion.*

FROM what I have said in the Two preceding Chapters, without inquiring further into any lower degrees and instances thereof, I think it may competently appear, what Schism is, and who the Persons are that may justly be charged therewith: either as breaking off from their own Church, by unjustly throwing off, and dividing from their own Orthodox and Lawful Bishops; or, as breaking off from other Churches, by unjustly refusing Communion to their Members, or by unjustly granting it to their Schismatics, or Excommunicates. And more particularly, that they are guilty of this great and dangerous Sin of Schism, who unjustly turn Subjects, or side with Anti-Bishops set up over them, against their own Orthodox and Lawful Bishops. Yea, though such Defectors to the Anti-Bishops, make the greatest Numbers; or are set up by the civil State, as the civilly establish'd or endowed Church. And that all other Churches, and their Members, are guilty of the same, who shall own, and come in to them, and admit them into their Communion, and keep on Communion with them.

I say they are Schismatics, who by any of these ways shall break off from others unduly, and without just Cause.

*Making impious and unlawful things the Terms of Communion, Part 3.*

But some things, are a *just Ground to break off*, either Dependence and Subjection to our own Bishops, or Communion with other Churches: *Some things*, as I come next to shew, *not being to be born, nor others to be parted with, for the Love of external Peace and Union.* And when these can be justly and duly alledged for standing off, 'tis always justifiable, and commonly necessary, to break Communions. However, to break off Resorting to their Assemblies; though at the same, we should still allow their Members to resort to ours. For this later, many times may be allowed longer, where it can be done without scandal; especially, before the Church has proceeded judicially to censure and excommunicate the offending Parties: as it was allow'd to the *Romanists*, and accepted by them, for several years in the beginning of *Q. Elizabeths* Reign; and also to the *Dissenters*, in later days. And if there are such Pleas for breaking off, either from any Persons, or Churches, there is no Breach of Gospel-Union, nor Blame of Schism, in such Cases. And of these, I shall now,

2. In the *Second Place* give some Account, That when we see any Persons or People, breaking off, either Subjection to their former Bishops, or Ecclesiastical Concord and Fraternal Communion with other Churches, we may understand where Schism is, and where it is not to be charged; and be more clear in several Matters of Importance in this Argument.

Now such just Ground there is for the Members of any Church to break off Communion, either with their own Bishops, or with other Churches, when they can alledge either some things *against the Terms of their Communion*, or others *against their Persons and Doctrines*. 'Tis a just Ground to break off from them, if they *make impious and unlawful things, or unrighteous Usurpations and Incroachments, the Terms of their Communion.* Or, though nothing of this can be alledged against the Terms, if *Herésie can be justly objected to their Persons.*

These, I say, are *just Grounds*, and give a *Liberty to break off from the Communion of any Persons or Churches.* And I chuse rather to express it, by this *giving them a Liberty*; than by *imposing on them a conscientious Necessity*, to do so. For some Grounds, give a Liberty to break Communion, either with their own Bishops, or with other Churches, which do not in conscience necessitate Men; as *Unrighteous Usurpations and Incroachments*, when they are made the condition thereof. For though Men need not submit to them; yet, if they are pleased to do it, they ordinarily may do so without Sin, and suffer such Incroachments in their own Wrong.

Besides, the Duty of uniting with any particular Persons, or Churches, is bound upon us by certain Things, or Qualifications, in those Persons or Churches, which oblige us to their Communion and Dependence. And, as the Being and Presence of those Things and Qualifications

Chap. 3. *is a just Ground for others to break off Communion.*

cations, binds it on; so doth the Failure thereof, unbind the same, and set Men at Liberty, to go off from them.

I say to go off from them, not to go off from all, and hold on communicating with none. For when they are no longer bound to communicate, with such particular Bishops, or Churches: yet are they still bound thereto with others, or under a general obligation to Communion. I mean, when they have opportunity for the same, which is presupposed to all obligation of actual Exercise and Discharge thereof, by this, like as it is by all other *Affirmative Duties*. The *Communion of Saints* professed in the *Creed*, obliges us to communicate as we have opportunity, in all Christian Offices, with all true Christians, who still retain those Qualifications I spoke of. Though it leaves us free to stand off from any others, who have fallen from them; and tyes us up no further to communicate with them.

1. First, 'Tis always a just Ground to break off from them, if they make impious or unlawful things, the Terms or Conditions, of their own Members, or of others, keeping on communion with them. I do not say it is the only Ground, having mentioned others, but it is always a just Ground thereof: And thus it is,

1. When they put impious, or unlawful things, into their sacred Offices, and mix sinful Matters in that Body of Prayers, or Administration of Sacraments, which they call others to communicate with. What Allowances may be made herein, for a generally corrupt state of the Church; and how far, in necessity and want of others, good People may be at liberty still to resort to such, I shall consider afterwards. But such mixture of Sin and Prophanation, in what they are called to communicate in, I think sets People loose, and leaves them no longer bound to them.

For the Communion, which all Christians are obliged to seek in the *Catholic Church*, is the *Communion of Saints*. This *Sainthood*, though it be not always in Reality, must at least be always in Profession. The Persons, must all be professed Saints, whom we communicate with. And the Things and Offices, must all be of professed Sainthood, which we are call'd to communicate in. And such, those publick Offices are not, that have any gross Sins or Wickednesses, which are all so many Prophanations, for the matter of them.

This Sainthood, wherein this Communion is to be held, lyes more especially in Faith, and Worship. And where they fail in either of these, we are not bound to communion with any Assemblies. It is so plainly, where they fail in point of Faith. For Heresie, which is a corruption of Faith, will set us loose, as I shall shew \* hereafter, from the communion of any Persons, or Churches. And Corruptions of Wor-  
ship, are to the full, not only as offensive, but as openly dishonourable

\* Chap.  
4.



ble to God, who is not more aspersed or provoked by a false belief and confession, than by a corrupt and wicked worship: So that among those, whose business in Religious Assemblies, is to see God honoured, and to seek that he may be appeas'd, any gross Sins made the matter of Worship, which are a corruption of Worship, will do the same. They not only set God's faithful People free, to stand off from such corrupt Offices; but oblige his faithful Pastors, to stand up for him, and to minister or afford better, out of a just sense of the Peoples needs, and jealousy for God's Honour, as I \* shew'd before.

\* Chap.  
4. Par. 1.

Besides, our chief Obligations to unite our selves to any Religious Assemblies, is, as they are *Assemblies for Worship*. We, as so many *live Stones*, are joyn'd together and *built into a Spiritual House*, to offer up *Spiritual Sacrifices*, as St. Peter says, 1 Pet. 2. 5. Yea, and as they are *purely for Worship*; not partly for worshipping, and partly for prophaning God: there being Obligation enough on the Servants of God, to meet together to see him publicly honoured, but none to see him publicly profaned. And therefore we are not obliged to make part of such Assemblies, as put up sinful Matters, and gross Wickedness, in their publick Offices. For Worship is a Profession of Honour and Reverence. But Sin and Wickedness, are Professions of Irreverence and Reproach; and so are not Worship, but Profanations. So that the Obligations incumbent on God's Servants, to meet there, where Offerings are to be made that are for his Honour, yea, only such as are for his Honour; will not bind them, but, if they can serve him any where else, rather forbid them to meet there, where these Profanations are.

Thus is the Matter of Religious Meetings, or the *Worship and Service there performed*, the chief thing that carries the Obligation to them. I say the *chief*, but not the *only* thing. For we are Members of a Church, as well as Professors of a Religion; and as Christians, are incorporated into a Society, as well as instructed in a Doctrine. And both these bind us to Religious Assemblies. For, as good Christians, we ought to meet there, to shew our Adherence to the Church as a Society, or our Union to it as Members; as well as to put up Prayers to God by **JESUS CHRIST**, or to pay our Religious Worship and Service. That is, our Christianity obliges us to meet together, both to present our Religious Oblations and Acknowledgments to Almighty God, and to do it in dependance on our Lawful Pastors, or in the Unity of the Church.

But this Obligation to these Meetings, as thereby keeping Union with the Church as a Society, is but a *Secondary* Obligation: and that of paying truly Christian and acceptable Worship, is the first and chief therein. For the end, why Christians were formed into a Society; was to keep up the Profession and Payment of that Holy Doctrine and

Worship

Worship, which are necessary or peculiar to them, as they are a Sect or Religion. And the Members are bound to stick to it, whilst it stands upon this Doctrine and Worship, not when it starts off from it. It is the Religion, which recommends the Church. And we are to chuse our Church or Assemblies, for the Religions; not our Religion, for the Churches sake. So that their falling off from pure Christian Worship and Doctrine, which are necessary to the Religion, to its honouring God, or our acceptance by it; loosens the bond of Union to any Assemblies, and sets Men free to joyn with any others regularly empowered, who stick faster to them.

Agreeably to all this, we find *Faith* and *Worship* spoke of, as the Great Ligaments, that are to bind and unite us to any Church. Of the Ligament of *Faith*, I shall treat in its proper place. And as for *Worship*, which lyes partly in *confessions of Faith*, but more especially in *Prayers* and *Sacraments*, it is a Ligament too, and *Prayers* and *Sacraments* are set off, as compacting us into one *Body*, or cementing us into one *spiritual House*. Thus, of *Prayers*, St. Peter says we are set together as one *spiritual House*, to send up *spiritual Sacrifices*, 1 Pet. 2. 5. And of the *Sacraments*, it is declared, that we are all baptized into one *Body*, 1 Cor. 12. 13. and that we are one *Body*, by partaking all of one *Bread*, 1 Cor. 10. 17. and by having been made all to drink into one *Spirit*, 1 Cor. 12. 13. therein referring to the one *Loaf*, whereof we all eat, and to the one *Cup* whereof we all drink, in the *Holy Eucharist*.

Now as that *Faith*, which is to unite and bind us to any Churches or Assemblies, is not any *Erroneous* or *Heretical* Tenets, as I shall shew anon, but the *Orthodox* and *Right Faith*: So is that *Worship*, which is to do the same, not any *sinful* and *prophane*, but a *truly Christian* and *Holy Worship*; or such an Oblation of *Prayers*, and Administration of *Sacraments*, as Christ has instituted and appointed, and will not reject and punish, but accept of. It must be a *Worship*, not only in *Spirit*, opposite to the way of carnal *Sacrifices*, and the *Numerousness* of *Jewish Ceremonies* and *external Rites*: but also in *Truth*, opposite to all *false*, *superstitious*, or otherwise *sinful ways*, which really are not *Worship* but *Prophaneness*. For in Christianity, the true *Worshippers*, as our Lord says, are they who worship God in *Spirit* and in *Truth*, Jo. 4. 23, 24. yea, as he adds, the Father seeketh such to worship him, v. 23. And if he seeketh such *Worshippers*, his devoted *Servants*, who have no other aim, but to find him, and to be found by him, must seek out such *Assemblies*, where such *Worship* is paid to him. And thus also St. Peter says of those *Sacrifices*, the joyn-communion wherein is to bind us together into one *spiritual House*; that they must be such *spiritual Sacrifices*, as are acceptable to God through Jesus Christ our Lord, 1 Pet. 2. 5. So that the *Unity in Worship* and *Prayers*, which we are bound to keep with

with other *Christians*, or *Assemblies*; is only whilst they meet to put up *Holy Prayers*: coming in among them as *live stones*, to make part of their *spiritual House*, whilst they offer up *such Sacrifices*, as may be fit to find acceptance, as we heard from *St. Peter*. And thus the *Peace*, which *St. Paul* orders us to pursue, is with those, who call upon the Lord out of a pure heart; not with those, who, as the *Gnosticks* were like enough to do, prophaned him by a sinful Worship, or impure Petitions, *2 Tim. 2. 22*. And the bond of external Peace, is where we may lawfully keep the unity of the spirit; which is not to be kept in sinful Offices, but only in pure ones, *Eph. 4. 3*. or where, in following after the things which make for Peace, we may withal follow such things, wherewith we may edifie, not corrupt and ensnare one another, *Rom. 14. 19*.

Particularly, as to the *Pastors*, who are the Heads of those *Assemblies*, one chief Character of theirs as they are set over us, and chief ground of our Dependance and Obligations to keep under them, is as they are *Ministers of Prayers*. And that, as they minister such Prayers, as are fit to serve the necessary ends and purposes of all Prayer; that is, to worship and honour God, and to benefit us, or to bring down Blessings from him. And if we, who must seek out for Prayers, are tyed to them as Ministers of holy and acceptable Prayers: that Obligation towards them ceases, when, instead of administering such, they fall to minister profane ones.

And thus there is a just Ground to break off, or a Liberty of separating from *Assemblies* even of *Rightful Pastors*, for *pure Christian Administrations*. Not for Purity from mere Defects, or for Administrations more edifying; which is the Pretence of our *Anti-Episcopal Dissenters*: but for Purity from Sin and wicked Mixtures. That is, that they may have a Worship and Religious Service, without mixture, either of *Idolatry*, or of *Immorality*. That they may meet with nothing to reproach, or dishonour God therein; or to disturb, and wound a pious Affection, when they should be most helped and encouraged in exercise thereof, being come to serve and worship him. When they are thus barr'd out, by any wicked mixtures; unless necessity, and want of better drive them to make shift therewith, they are no longer tyed to resort to such Offices, but are free to seek out for better at the hands of any other Regular and Authorized Pastors, and ought to communicate in them if they can have them. For *sinful Prayers*, are a *sinful Sacrifice*; as the *Oblations* of blemished, of blind, and lame, and sick for Sacrifice, were among the *Jews*, *Mal. 1. 8*. & *Levit. 22. 19, 20, 22*. & *Deut. 15. 21*. And whatever Toleration it might meet with, in want of better; yet, if any man bath in his Flock a Male, or one fit to make a legal and perfect Offering, cursed be he, saith the Prophet, that voweth, and sacrificeth to the Lord a corrupt thing, *Mal. 1. 13, 14*.



But the Ground of this breaking off, is higher still, if,

2. They do not only put *impious, and unlawful things, into their sacred Offices or Confessions*; but admit none to communion, in any of the good parts, unless they particularly concur in these corrupt ones too. The former, sets men loose, that they lawfully may, and, where they have opportunities of better, ought to break off from them: But this, drives and necessitates them, that they must do so, and can not, for the supply of any Necessities, stay to associate and assemble with them. And thus it is, when any Bishops will admit no Members, or when any Churches will admit no other Churches to communicate with them, unless they will agree, to believe, or profess some false Doctrine; or partake and go along with them, in those particular and unlawful Matters or evil Worship, wherewithal they have clogged and corrupted their Communion.

Now when this is the Case, nothing can legitimate Communion with such Bishops or Churches. For though it is the duty and ought to be the desire and care of all good Christians, to keep up the external Unity of the Church, both under their own Bishops, and with other Churches: Yet must not this ever carry them, to unite, or to go along with them, in all things? To be one with them in these Matters, is to partake with them in their Sins; which is not the Unity and *Communion of Saints* or *Christians*, but of the *ungodly*, or of *evil-doers*. In such Points, the more united any Society is, the worse it is. Such is the Union of all *Infidel Churches*, who unite in utterly denying, and opposing the Christian Faith. And of *Hereticks*, who incorporate under their seducing Heads, to undermine or pervert it. Yea, even the *infernal Spirits*, are united *Polities*, without which *Satans Kingdom* could not stand, as our Saviour \* says; being associated, and knit together to despise God and all that bears his Image. But all this Union or Agreement of Men, in damnable Errors or Wickedness, is only combining against God and their own Souls. And our Blessed Lord came not to bind up, but to break such Combinations, which the World then was full of. *I came not to send Peace, but rather Division*, saith he, that is, to call People to break off from Error and Wickedness, and to divide from the Adherers to ungodly ways, *Luk. 12. 51*. So that the lamentableness of Mens not going all one way, is true here, where the Generality go the right way. But when they are going wrong, in ways of Guilt and Destruction, to unite in Sin and Misery is a deplorable thing, and there tis best, when the most divide and stand off from them.

Nor may they be wanting to their duty in some Points, to keep on united to them in others. They must not purchase Unity, by sin-

\* Mat. 12.  
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full Omissions ; or buy peace, with the loss of innocence. And therefore, as I observed, the watchmen must not be wanting in giving necessary warnings, nor Faithful Ministers let fall their Ministrations, in the foresaid Cases, on pretence of preserving unity, or preventing Schism in the Church.

2. *Secondly*, it is another just ground to break off from them, if they *make unrighteous usurpations and incroachments, the Terms and condition of their Communion.* Both Bishops, and Churches, may turn Tyrannical and Arrogant Usurpers upon their Brethrens Liberties, not admitting their own Members to their Communion, without acknowledging and submitting to their unjustly and illegally assumed powers ; nor other Churches, unless they will give up their own rights and freedoms, and become their Subjects. And when they will allow Communion to none, unless they are content to purchase it at such rates ; good Christians may pass them by, and unite themselves to other Churches, where they will be more justly and fairly dealt with. The Communion of Christians, is a *Communion of Brethren, upon Brotherly terms ; not of Captives, who must submit to any terms, or bear what hardships and incroachments are put upon them by their Conquerors.* They are not bound to purchase unity, by enslaving of themselves ; or any brethrens communion, by receiving their yoke, and giving up their own rights and liberties, as the *Church of Rome* demands all other Churches, both of the East and West, should do to purchase hers. And thus *St. Paul* declares he would not give up their liberties, when *false brethren* turn'd invaders thereof ; viz. the *Judaizers* in their pressing the *Circumcision of Titus*, to whom he gave place by subjection, no not for an hour, when they sought to bring them into bondage. Gal. 2. 4, 5.

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## CHAP. IV.

*Heresy a just Ground to break off Communion.*

**T**He last ground which I shall mention, of breaking off, or of being set loose from the Communion, either of Bishops, or Churches, is, though none of the foresaid obstacles can be pleaded against the *Terms of their Communion*, if yet,

3. *Thirdly, Heresy can be justly objected to their persons, and Doctrines.* Church Members, are not bound to keep dependant on the persons of their Bishops; nor one Church, to keep Communion with other Churches, if once they defect from the true worship and Doctrine of Christ. This *worship and Doctrine*, are the *Ground and Foundation*, of *Christian Society and unity*. The Church, is a *Body of Men*, Associated for them. And must be *one Society*, by keeping united under their Bishops, or Associated with other Churches in them. They must keep one, in standing together upon this bottom, not in going off, or departing from it.

For clearing these matters, it is to be observed, that our Saviours first end in coming into the world, was to *publish a Religion*. *I am come a light into the world*, saith he of himself, Jo. 12. 46. *I must \* Preach the \* Mar. 9. Gospel, for therefore am I sent.* Luk. 4. 43. On this account, he calls <sup>13.</sup> himself *the Way, the Truth, and the Life*. Joh. 14. 6. And tells Pilate, that for this end was he born, and for this cause came he into the world, that he should bear witness unto the Truth. Joh. 18. 37. And this Truth or Religion, lyes in his Doctrine of worship, faith, and Practice: Or, in his Teaching all his Disciples, what way they are to worship God; what they are to believe concerning him, or other things which concern their Eternal Salvation; and what they are to do for him.

Now this Doctrine, was like to be most advantageously profess'd, and this Worship to be best paid, if it were not left to single persons, or to scatter'd Families, to do it separately by themselves: But had its several professors incorporated, into one Regular society and united body, for the joynt profession and performance thereof. Such Regular society, would hold it out, by more orderly and effectual Ministration; and keep men to it, by the Authority of Discipline; and be a common help and spur, to excite and aid each other mutually, and carry them on; and a cover and shelter, to back & embolden them therein. A Regular Society, or Church incorporated for the Profession thereof, St. Paul \* says is a Pillar, and Ground, or † Stay, to publish and support

it. Accordingly, when Religion was left to be born out by smaller societies, and sometime even by single families, as in the *Patriarchal Age*; we see it was sometimes almost lost, and always made a very small progress. But when a whole Nation was incorporated into one Church, for the profession and payment of it, as it was among the *Jews*; it spread further in power and influence, and gain'd more profelytes. And lastly, when all Nations, as fast as they turn'd Christians, were embodied in one society for the same intent, as *† a Light set upon a candlestick*, or as *\* a City placed on a hill*, it displayed its force far and near, and strengthen'd incomparably more hearts in it, and drew more eyes after it.

And therefore our Lord intended and ordered in the next place, that all, who embraced this Religion, should incorporate or unite together in one Church or Society, for the Profession of it. Accordingly, he has made *baptism*, wherein every professor takes upon him this Religion, to incorporate him, or enter him a member of this Church: *Baptism*, as St. *† Paul* notes, uniteing us all in one body; and *|| as many, as are baptized into Christ, are all one in Christ Jesus*. And requires of every professor of this Religion, that he Keep on professing it in the unity of this Church. And that all of his Religion, pay this worship, and profess this Doctrine, not separately by themselves; but socially, in joynt Communion with others. So that all, who come to embrace the Christian Religion, must perform the worship and profession thereof in Christian Society, or in the Unity and Communion of Christ's *Holy Catholick Church*.

But we are first to be all of this Religion, and then to profess and perform it in the Unity and Communion of this Church. The Doctrine and Worship, I say, which makes us Christians, are the Foundation of that Society and Unity, which is to be upheld in the Christian Church. Thus, on *Peters Confession*, our Lord declares he would build his Church, Mat. 16. 16, 18. And the Uniteing of Christians into one Temple, St. Paul says, is by their being built on the Apostles and prophets, i. e. On their Doctrines, about worship, faith, and practice. Eph. 2. 20. 21. And when our Saviour prays so earnestly for the Unity of his Church, at what time he was about to leave it, he limits it to this, that they may be kept one \* in Gods Name. Job 17. 11: and calls the Gathering or Uniteing together of Christians in Congregations, wherein he will be in the midst of them, their gathering together in his Name, Mat. 18. 20. In his Name, that is, in his Doctrine, or Profession of Faith and Worship; Name, with relation to Masters and Teachers, being usually put for Doctrine. As, to bear my Name before the Gentiles, is to bear my Doctrine, Act. 9. 16. and teaching in Christ's Name, is filling Jerusalem with his Doctrine, Act. 5. 28. & ver. 40. And the Priests and Rulers forbidding the Apostles to speak to any Man

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in his Name, is forbidding them any more to preach his Doctrine, Act. 4. 17. 18. And ſo, when our Lord prays to his Father, that his Diſci-  
ples may be kept in his Name, to the end that they may be one; he  
notes the neceſſity of continuing in his Doctrine, to their keeping his  
ſo much deſired Union, Jo. 11. 17. Accordingly he adds, *that they*  
*may be one, as we are*, viz. he and the Father. For their Unity, is by this  
way among others, viz. by keeping to the ſame Word or Doctrine,  
he teaching them what he had from his Father, v. 8. And this is to be  
kept one after his departure, as they had been kept one before, as he con-  
tinues to pray, v. 12. For before, they had been united in his Word,  
which he gave unto them, and which they had received, and kept, v. 6. 8.

Thus alſo St. Paul tells us, that the giving of Paſtors and Teachers,  
to Edifie or compact us all into one Body of Chriſt, is for edifying us  
in the Unity of the Faith, and of the \* Acknowledgment of the Son of God,  
Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. And that the Church is to be one Body, in holding  
to the one Faith, Eph. 4. 4, 5. And this has been the currant ſenſe of  
the Chriſtian Church. \* The Virtue, which keeps the Church together, is  
Faith, ſaith the Paſtor Hermes, as he is cited by Clemens of Alexandria.  
† We are conſtituted one Body of Chriſt, and Members one of another, by  
having the ſame Faith with him, and with one another, ſay the Fathers,  
in the ſixth general Council. || By the joyning of Charity, and Faith, Chriſt  
binds us up into one Body in himſelf, ſaith St. Gregory the Great. \* And  
we Chriſtians are a Society, ſays Tertullian, incorporated on a Belief of the  
ſame Religion: Or, as he elſewhere expreſſes it, † confederated in the  
Fellowſhip of the ſame Profeſſion.

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\* Ἡ τὴν  
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πίστις ἐστὶ  
Clem. A-  
lexand.  
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l. 2. p. 384. Ed. Col. 88. † — Μέλων ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν σῶμα συνιστάτων χρεῖται,  
διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως, Conc. Gen. Sext. Act. 18. p. 271. Tom. 5.  
Conc. Ed. Bin. || Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse Membra nos voluit, ut per  
compagem Charitatis & Fidei, unum nos in se Corpus efficeret, Greg. Mag. Ep. 1. 7. Ep. 110.  
\* Corpus sumus, de Conscientia Religionis, Sc. Tert. Apol. c. 39. † Universitas [ Ecclesias ] quae  
illis [ Apostolicis ] de Societate Sacramenti confederantur, Adv. Marc. l. 4. c. 5.

As to Points of Faith, I understand this more particularly of those  
Points, which are more important, and call'd *Fundamental*, and are all  
contain'd in the *Apostles Creed*. These, are the necessary and grand  
Points of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Belief thereof makes us Chri-  
ſtians; and accordingly they are all profess'd in our *Baptism*, when we  
take this Profeſſion upon us. And this Faith, is one necessary Bond of  
Union, to keep Chriſtians together in one Society. Their first care must  
be, to keep to this Faith, which makes them Chriſtians; and in this  
Belief of the Chriſtian Religion, their next care must be, to keep to  
any particular Society or Chriſtian Church. Other Points of Belief,  
which are more remote from the Foundation, do not ſo generally in-  
fluence



fluence Mens Salvation, nor ſo neceſſarily break off Communion, but that Men may hold on joyning in the ſame Offices, notwithstanding their embracing of ſome erroneous Opinions. And under ſuch Errors, Peace, and one Communion, were preſſed by the Apoſtles, I conceive, on the Churches in their Days. But theſe being more neceſſary, and eſſential to the Religion; are more neceſſary alſo to the keeping of Society and Communion, which is to be kept up among thoſe, who are united and agreed in this Religion.

And ſince all Church-Aſſociation, is to be on this bottom, of *Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrines*; good Chriſtians Unity or Dependance on their Biſhops, or one Churches Communion with other Churches, is only to be, whiſt the Biſhops and Churches themſelves keep united to Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrines. 'Tis to their Biſhops, as to their *Spiritual Teachers*, on whom they are to attend as *obedient Diſciples*; and ſo, whiſt they inſtruct and train them up in God's Truths, not in ungodly Errors. 'Tis to them, as they are *Chriſts Miniſters*; and ſo, whiſt they miniſter his Word, not their own. As *joynts*, Eph. 4. 16. & Col. 2. 19. And *joynts*, are to compact or pin the Materials or Members together, whiſt they reſt upon the Ground and Bottom, viz. the *Doctrines*; not when they ſtart aſide, and go off from it. And of an Heretick, St. Paul ſays, that \* *he is turned aſide*, or like a *corner-ſtone* ſtarted out of the Building; So that the other Parts, are no longer to be knit together into one ſpiritual Houſe, by him.

When People come at firſt to be Church-Members, and to unite under their Biſhops, the Doctrines and Worſhip is firſt laid, as the Ground-work, for both the Head and Members to ſtand upon. Thus we ſee it was, in the firſt Formation of Churches, and ſetting up external Union and Dependance, under Biſhops. The Chriſtian Doctrines, was firſt taught, and received, which was the Foundation laid. *I have laid the Foundation*, ſays St. Paul, when he had *planted the Faith*, 1 Cor. 3. 10. And on the Foundation ſo laid, a Church was raiſed, and *Biſhops choſen out of the firſt-Fruits of the Converts*, as St. Clemens \* ſays, and ſet over thoſe that believed. And ever ſince, before Men receive *Baptiſm* to make them Church-members, there is a Profeſſion made of the *Doctrines of the Apoſtles*, both in Faith, or the *Articles of the Creed*, and in Practice or the *Commandments*.

So that 'tis Biſhops heading of this Doctrines and Worſhip, which bring Members to incorporate, and unite under them. And as their heading it, brings People to them; ſo their rejeſting or deſecting from it, looſens the Tye, and ſets them free to go off again. Their Fellowship with the *Apoſtles*, and our Obligation to hold Fellowship with them, is tyed to their keeping the *Apoſtolical Declarations*, of what they had heard, or ſeen, 1 Jo. 1. 3. And in the Account of the Communion

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\* Clem.  
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# Chap. 4. *Hereſie a juſt Ground to break off Communion.*

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munion of the Primitive Chriſtians, the *Fellowſhip of the Apoſtles*, and of the Biſhops their Suceſſors, is linked to the *Apoſtles Doctrine*, and to their breaking of Bread and Prayers, Act. 2. 42.

If a Biſhop then defects from Chriſtian Doctrin and Worſhip, or falls into Hereſie, or Unchriſtian Worſhip; that is a Diſcharge of his People from their ſpiritual Dependance and Relation, and ſuperſedes the Obligation of keeping Unity under him. If we, the Apoſtles, or even an Angel from Heaven, ſhould preach any other Goſpel unto you, than that which we have already preached unto you, \* let him be Anathema, or Accuſed: that is, have no more communion and commerce with him, than with thoſe, whom the Synagogue, or Church has cut off; Anathema being the Word for one excommunicate, both in the \* Scripture, and in the conſtant Language of the Church, Gal. 1. 8, 9. And this he ſays, as St. Chryſoſtom \* notes, not only againſt thoſe, who ſubvert the whole Goſpel, but againſt thoſe who go a little beſide it, or overthrow any Parts thereof. And if a Church defects from the ſame, it ſets other Churches looſe in like manner from the Obligation, of holding on communion with them. Unity of Faith, binds them mutually to obſerve the Rules of fraternal communion; and defection in Faith, gives diſcharge from them. Accordingly, this the Clergy of Rome put the granting or denying communion upon, in their Answer to Marcion: Telling him, they could not receive him to communion in their Church, \* without his Fathers conſent and allowance, † becauſe his Father the Biſhop of Sinope, who had caſt him out of communion, was of the ſame Faith with themſelves.

\* Anathema  
μα ἕστω.

\* Ro. 9. 3.

\* In loc.

\* Anathema  
τῆς ἐπι-  
τοπῆς τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας πα-  
τρὸς οὐ.

† Μία ὁ ἐς τὴν ἡ πίστις, μία ἡ ὁμολογία, καὶ ἡ συνάμεθα ἐναπλωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ δὲ σὺ, Epiphan. Hæc. 42. Sect. 1.

And this diſcharge ſuch defection gives, upon the evidence of the Fact it ſelf, before ſynodical Cognizance, or judicial ſentence and declaration thereof.

As for other Crimes, which concern only the *Persons* or *converſation* of Biſhops, not their *Doctrin* or *Ministrations*; they give no diſcharge, to the Clergy or People who are ſubject to them, before the offending Biſhops are regularly deprived for the ſame, by judicial ſentence. And if before ſynodical ſentence, any Clergy or People, break off from their Biſhops; or Biſhops, from their Metropolitans; or Metropolitans, from their Patriarks, on pretence of them; they make a Schiſm, and are cenſured by the Church for ſo doing. If any Preſbyter, or Deacon, \* ſays the Council of Conſtantinople, on pretence of Crimes, ( meaning ſuch perſonal Crimes,) ſhall dare to withdraw themſelves from the

\* Can.  
13, 14, 15.  
Concil.  
Conſtan.

primi & ſecundi Diſt. 36. † Ταῦτα μὲν ὀρίσται περὶ τῶν προφάσεων πῶς ἐκκλησιάζων, καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζων προέδρων. Not for thoſe who do it, δι' ἀρετήν πῶς παρὰ τῶν ἀγίων ſυνόδων ἢ παρὰ τῶν κατηγγομένων, Can. 15.

Communion of their Biſhop; or Biſhops, from their Metropolitan; or Pref. \* Πεδ byiers, Biſhops, or Metropolitanes from their Patriarch, \* before Synodical cognizance and perfect condemnation paſt upon him: He makes a Schiſm, and ſhall incur the penalty of depoſition.

ως ἡ ἐξετάσις, ἡ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελείας καταργήσεως.

But as for Hereſie, or any damnable corruptions of Doctrine or Miſtrations, they give this diſcharge, as ſoon as the Biſhop, &c. is notoriously guilty of them, before any Synod has ſate, or Sentence has paſſ'd upon him. Thus, St. Jerome expounds that Paſſage,

an Heretick is \* condemned of himſelf, Tit. 3. 10.

11. † Which, ſays he, is therefore ſaid of Hereticks, becauſe when other Offenders, as Fornicators, Adulterers, Murderers, are not caſt out, but by the Sentence of the Biſhop or Church cenſures: Hereticks, on the other hand, paſs ſentence upon themſelves, on their own accord receding from the Church, which reſeſſion ſeems to be a condemnation of their own conſcience. || As many as attempt any thing againſt thoſe Conſtitutions of the Fathers, which concern the Faith, thereby without more ado incur, and bring on themſelves the Cenſures contained in the Canons, ſays Thalaffius Biſhop of Caſarea in Cappadocia, in the Great Council of Conſtendon.

When an Offence is only againſt the Canons of the Church, \* the Defence of the Divine Canons we know is proper only to the Biſhops; but the Defence of the right Faith, belongs not only to them, but to every Orthodox Chriſtian, ſay the Holy Monks againſt the Patriarch Anthimus, ſaln to the Hereſie of the Eurychians, in their Libel in the Council of Conſtantiople under Agapetus and Mennas. † Though no Synod has before condemned him; yet he that has prevaricated and deſerted the Orthodox Faith, as Acacius he ſays had done by communicating with the Eurychians, has enough for which he ought to be deny'd communion. As alſo any one, who before being a Catholick, ſhall fall to communicate with any Hereſie, is juſtly thought to be thereby removed

from our Society, ſays Pope Gelafius. Though, in caſe of other Crimes, they may not do it before Synodical Sentence; yet, in caſe of any

\* Hereſie

\* Αυτοκατακριτ.

† Propterea vero a ſemetipſo dicitur eſſe damnatus, quia Fornicator, Adulter, Homicida, & cætera vitia, per Sacerdotes Eccleſiæ propelluntur. Hæretici autem in ſemetipſos ſententiam ferunt, ſuo arbitrio de Eccleſia recedentes, quæ reſeſſio propria conſcientiæ videtur eſſe damnatio, Hieron. Comment. in loc.

|| Όσοι παρὰ τῶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίſτει τῶ πατέρων τύπος διαπράττουνται ἐαυτοῖς ἐπάγει τὰ ἐν τῷ κανόνων ἐπὶ πύμα, Concil. Chalced. Part 2. A. 1. p. 191. Tom. 3. Ed. Bin.

\* Εἰκότως ἡμᾶς ἐπιτάμμενοι τὴν τῶ θεῶν κανόνων ἐκείνην ἀρχιερεῦσι μόνον ἀρμόττειν, τὴν δὲ τῆς θεοῦ πίſτως ἐ μὴ οὐ μόνον ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ὁρθοδόξῳ χριſτιανῷ, Concil. Conſt. ſub Agapeto & Menna, A. 1. p. 10. Tom. 4. Conc. Ed. Bin.

† Quasi revera, etiam ſi nullus ante damnaſſet, non habuerit Orthodoxæ & Apoſtoliciæ Communionis, cujus Prævaricator extitit & Deſertor, participatione excludi. Sicut etiam quilibet, qui fuerit ante Catholicus, cuicunque hæreſi communicans, merito judicatur a noſtra ſocietate removendus, Gelafius Ep. 1. ad Euphemianum, ap. Bin. Tom. 3. Conc p. 620.

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\* Hereſie condemn'd by the Holy Synods, or Fa-  
thers, they may depart and ſeparate from the Com-  
munion of their Prelate, ſay the ſoſeſaid Canons  
of Conſtantinople, when once he comes to preach  
it publickly, and to teach it bare-fac'd in the  
Church. And then to withdraw from him be-  
fore Synodical cognizance, is not to incur the ſoſe-  
ſaid Canonical pains, but to ſhew themſelves wor-  
thy of that Honour, which belongs to the Ortho-  
dox. 'Tis not to condemn Biſhops, ſay they, but  
Pſeudo-Biſhops their Teachers; not to rend the U-  
nity of the Church by a Schiſm, but to ſtudy to  
free it from Schiſms and Diviſions. So that in  
theſe Caſes, when the Deſection of Doctrine

and Worſhip is apparent, and plain to their eyes and ears; the Peo-  
ple and Clergy may judge for themſelves, and withdraw from the Com-  
munion of ſuch Heretical or Erroneous Paſtors. And accordingly, the  
Apoſtolicall Rules to the People are, without ſtaying for the declaration  
of a Synod, if any turn a bringer of falſe Doctrine, contrary to what they  
had delivered, without more ado to hold him as Anathema, or as one  
Excommunicate, Gal. 1. 8. 9. and not to bid him God ſpeed, 2 Jo. 10. 11.

By ſuch defections then from Chriſtian Doctrine, or Worſhip, the  
Ligaments of Union are broken towards the Governours of any Church,  
or between one Church and another; and there accrues a Liberty, with-  
out any Breach of the Unity of the Church,

1. For People to break off from their own Local Guides, or for People and  
Clergy to break off from their own Biſhops. Tho' they were Apoſtles, or An-  
gels from Heaven, they are to be held then as Anathema, as St. Paul ſays,  
that is, not as Heads of Unity and Church-communion, but as Excom-  
municate Men. If they cauſe Diviſions from the Doctrines we have learn-  
ed, he bids the Church mark and avoid them, Ro. 16. 17. The Peoples  
duty of adhering to, and following them, is no longer, than they con-  
tinue to be followers of Chriſt, 1 Cor. 11. 1. & c. 4. 16. But if they  
break off from his Truth, and turn Falſe Prophets, however they come  
drefs'd up in ſoft Pretences or in Sheeps-cloathing, he tells us to beware  
of them, and to fly them as Wolves, Mat. 7. 15, 16. to \* look to them,  
and avoid them, as St. Paul cautions againſt the Judaizers, Phil. 3. 2. \* Βλαπτε-  
\* Cun-  
tis Mo-  
nachis ab  
eodem E-  
piphanio  
Scripta  
venerunt, ut abſque ſatisfactione fidei nullus ei temere communicaret, Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Paim-  
nachium ady. Errores Johannis Hieroſol. verſ. ſin.

\* Οι δὲ ἀρεσὶν πρὸς τὴν ἀγ-  
γελίαν συνόδων ἢ πατέρων κατεγνωσμέ-  
νων τῆς πρὸς τὸν πρόεδρον κοινωνί-  
ας αὐτοὺς διατέλλοντες, ἐκέλευε τὴν  
ἀρεσὶν δηλονότι δημοσίᾳ κηρύττον-  
τες, καὶ γυναικὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπ' ἐκκλη-  
σίᾳ διδάσκοντες, οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἡ μόνον  
τῇ κανονικῇ ἐπιτιμήσει ἐκ' ὑποκρί-  
σινται, &c. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πρεσβυτε-  
ριμῆς ὀρθολόγοις ἀξιοθιθήσονται. Οὐ  
γὰρ ἐπισκόπων, ἀλλὰ ψευδεπισκόπων  
διδασκάλων κατέγνωσαν, καὶ ἡ χάρις  
π τὴν ἑνώσιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέτε-  
μον, ἀλλὰ ὁσμήτων καὶ μερισμῶν  
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐσπείσαντες ῥήσανται,  
Ib. Can. 15.

\* where



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bine di-  
ſtum, aut  
tibi ali-  
cubi man-  
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eſt, quod  
ſine ſatis-  
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\* where it is required that they ſhould come under his Communion, before ſuch ſatisfaction were given. And tells him, 'tis becauſe. † of their difference in point of Faith, that they may not communicate with him. || A People ſays St. Cyprian, that would fear God, and obey his Precepts, ought to ſeparate it ſelf from an erring Prelate. Such Perſons, if Metropolitans, are no longer to have neither any Authority over the Biſhops of their Provinces nor the Communion of the Church, as is decreed in the General \* Council of Ephesus.

communione tuam ſubiremus? Ib. † Quod tibi non communicemus, fidei eſt, Ib. || Pleb. obſequens Præceptis Domini, & Deum metuens, a peccatore præpoſito ſeparare ſe debet, Cyp. Ep. 67. p. 171. \* Can. 1.

They are to leave their Guides, when they fall to miſguide them; and to ſtand off from their Perſons, leſt they be corrupted with their Tenets. And this is no more, than is needful for them, even in point of Caution; being their keeping out of the way of Temptations, which our Lord directs us to, for a general Guard of all Vertues. And ſtanding off thus from Heretical Leaders, they will approve themſelves in the miſt of Heresies, by being ſteadfaſt in the Truth, 1 Cor. 11. 19. They will not be toſſ'd too and fro, by the ſlight of ſubtle men, with every wind of Doctrine, Eph. 4. 14. nor carry'd about, when their Teachers fall off, with divers, and ſtrange Doctrines: Strange, as oppoſite to the firſt-taught Truths; and divers, as contrary to their own former Principles, Heb. 13. 19.

2. For the Biſhops and Paſtors of one Church, to break off from the Biſhops and Paſtors of another. A Biſhop, muſt hold faſt the faithful Word, when others fly from it, Tit. 1. 9. An Heretick, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, he is bid to reject from his Communion, Tit. 3. 10. And when any teach otherwiſe, contrary to whoſome Words, and the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs, from ſuch withdraw thy ſelf, 1 Tim. 6. 3. 5. If any teach corrupt, and contrary Tenets, it is not fit to mingle and have Communion with them, \* ſaith St. Chryſoſtom. † If any foreign Biſhop, or other Clergy, come, and bring along with them commendatory Letters teſtifying their Orders, let them not be received, or admitted to Communion, unleſs, on Examination, they be found Preachers of Piety, and teach ſound and pure Doctrine, ſay the Apoſtoliſal Canons.

\* In Ep.  
4. Hom.  
11.

† ΜΗΔΕ-  
ΝΑ ΤΙΣ  
ΕΝ ΕΠΙ-  
ΣΚΟΠΩΝ, Η  
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΝ, Η  
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΩΝ, ΑΝΔΡΟΣ  
ΣΥΝΑΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΛΗΧΕΙΝ. ΕΠΙΣΚΕΠΟΜΕΝΩΝ, ΞΕΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΣΤΕΝ ΚΑΡΥΣΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ, ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΝ. Can. Ap. 33.

And this Liberty for both theſe, is not only in defections from neceſſary Doctrines of Faith; but alſo, (eſpecially in general and profeſſed ones) in defections from grand and neceſſary Doctrines of Practice. For we are tyed to them, not only as to Miniſters of Prayers, who are to lead and go before us in holy and acceptable Devotions, which ſets us free to leave them, as I ſhew'd \* before, when they corrupt their

\* Ch. 3.

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Licurgies. But alſo as to *Teachers*, who are to give us true Information of all that is neceſſary in the way to Heaven, or to ſave our ſouls: they being ſet over us, and we being order'd to keep ſubject to them, as \* *Paſtors*, who are to *feed us with underſtanding*; and as our *Guides* and \* *Teachers*, as the Scripture ſays. Now to be taught aright, in neceſſary points of Practice, as well as of mere Belief, or Fundamentals of Faith, is neceſſary to theſe purpoſes: For Obedience, is no leſs neceſſary in Religion, than Faith is; and a defection from the true neceſſary Doctrine of either, is moſt diſhonourable to God, and deſtructive to mens ſouls. And if teaching us aright, in all grand and neceſſary Points of both theſe, ties us to them; will not their turning False Teachers, or falling, openly, and incurably, to miſ-teach us in either, ſet us free to go off from them?

Accordingly, St. Paul, treating of *Servants Duties*, whoſe Honour, Obedience, and Fidelity towards their Maſters, is neceſſary to prevent the *Chriſtian Doctrines* being evil ſpoken of, bids Timothy, if any teach otherwiſe, and conſent not to the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs, from ſuch to withdraw himſelf, 1 Tim. 6. 1, 2, 3, 5. And thus alſo, when he gives order to turn away from the falſe Teachers of the later days, the defection of thoſe falſe Teachers, he ſets out more particularly, in *Practical Points*: Such as were a denial of the power of Godlineſs, which lyes in practice; though ſtill, as he ſays, they retain'd the form thereof, which lyes more in ſpeculative Profeſſions and Opinions. Viz. by being *Lovers of themſelves*, or of Pleaſure more than of God, ſo throwing off the Doctrine, of taking up and bearing Croſſes; and being diſobedient to Parents, Natural or Civil, and Traytors to Government, ſo diſcarding all ſober Principles of Civil Obedience; and being *Truce-breakers*, finding out ways to evade, or fly off from the moſt ſolemn Promiſes, and Oaths; and the like, 2 Tim. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

I ſpeak not of ſuch Practical Errors, when got only among the People, by means of ſome falſe Teachers privily creeping in, and diſperſing the ſame; but not among the lawful Paſtors themſelves: as ſeems to have been the Caſe at Corinth, where ſome Members had imbibed *Gnoſtick Infuſions*, and thought it lawful to \* communicate in Idol-feaſts. For here, the ſound may attend on the Miniſtrations of their Orthodox Paſtors, though they be to meet ſome unſound Members there, or to worſhip in mixt Communion. Their Brethrens Errors will not drive them to withdraw themſelves, but they may leave them to be remedyed, or removed by Church-cenſures.

Nor of ſuch others, as have tainted the Paſtors themſelves, if it is not clear of the Points objected to them, that they are Errors; or, ſuppoſing them Errors, if they be not of dangerous conſequence. The Guilt of ſome, is neither ſo groſs and heinous as to the Nature, nor

\* Eph. 4.  
11. 12.  
† Jer. 3.  
15.  
|| Heb. 13  
7. 17.  
\* Eph. 4.  
11.

\* 1 Cor.  
8. & cap.  
10.

ſo clear and indiſputable as to the proof of it, as it is in others. And theſe may be born, or remedyed otherways, and muſt not always break Communion.

Nor of all other Errors in practice imbibed by the Paſtors, that are clear, and of higher conſequence.

For though the practical Errors are more clear and important, yet

\* Εὐκρίνως τὴν αἵρεσιν δηλονότι δημοσία κηρύττουσι, καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκουσι.  
Conc. Conſt. 1. & 2. Can. 15.

sometimes the Guides and Paſtors abetting them, is not full and bare-faced. They may not be

come \* to teach them publicly and bare-faced in the Church, as the Council of Conſtantinople

ſpeaks in the caſe of Hereſie, for which the Church

is to break off from them. They may ſhew connivance, or countenance

\* 1 Cor. 5  
|| 1 Cor. 8  
& c. 10.

to them; as the Paſtors at \* Corinth ſeem to have done, in the caſe of

inceſtuous Marriages; and as, perhaps, they did in the caſe of

communicating in Idol-Peaſts: but not doctrinally maintain, and preach them up.

And thus alſo Leontius did, whiſt the Orthodox kept on meeting in

the Arian Aſſemblies under him at Antioch. For though he ſecretly fa-

vour'd, and encourag'd the Arians, who uſed a derogatory Doxology, of

Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt; not as the Ortho-

dox, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt: yet in repeating

the Doxology at the end of the Pſalms, he repeated all the firſt Part, where

in they differ'd, privately to himſelf; and then only repeated aloud, when

\* Hiſt.  
Eccl. 1. 2.  
c. 24.

it came to in ſacula ſeculorum, or world without end, wherein both were

agreed, as Theodorit \* reports.

Yea, I may add, that at other times, when the Paſtors preach them

up bare-faced, they may do it generally: ſo that the People may have

none elſe, but ſuch Erroneous Teachers, to communicate with. As was

the caſe of the Jews, I think, at our Saviours coming, when the Priests,

I conceive, generally agreed in preaching up thoſe practical Errors and

doctrinal Salvo's, whereby, as our Lord \* charges them, they made void

Gods Commandments. And in ſuch a corrupt ſtate of the Church, till they

could have the ſame from more Orthodox Miniſters; they were to go

on communicating in Religious Offices and Sacrifices, whiſt there was

nothing but good in them, with theſe otherwiſe erroneous Miniſters.

And were not to diſclaim Communion with their Miniſtrations, but to

\* beware of the Leaven of their Doctrines: Or, in other Points, where

they taught true, || to follow their Doctrines, not their Practices, as our

Saviour cautions.

But when they ſaw Souls endangered by ſuch Salvo's, it was the Duty

of true Prophets, and Priests among them, and would be ſo in all other places, on like occaſions, by their preaching and Miniſtrations to keep up ſound knowledge among the People in theſe Points; yea, the ſuch preaching and miniſtrations made a Breach between them, and



those defecting Teachers. And it was the Peoples duty to follow any among them, who would teach them better, when they could have such Teachers, as they had in our Blessed Lord, and his Apostles. Whatever Allowance, under the favour of Necessity, men may have to keep on with such, of which *Plea of necessity*, I shall say more hereafter; yet, where there is choice of others more Orthodox, they are no longer tyed to such Pastors, as openly and obstinately preach up damnable practices, to disgrace Religion, and endanger Souls. Bear they may for a time, in hopes of Reformation; and, because it is easier to prevent, than to patch up Breaches, wise Lovers both of Peace and Truth, would not be hasty in coming to extremities. But if still they will persist, and go on in such pernicious Ways and Doctrines; good People and Pastors may withdraw themselves from their Communion, as St. Paul says in the places already cited.

And the Reasons of breaking off, on such defections from necessary points, either of faith or practice, are still more urgent, if there is no Liberty left in any Churches, for other Pastors to stand up ministerially, or exercise their Ministry in defence of those necessary points, whilst they continue with, and adhere to them. For then, the Concealment and Suppression of necessary Truths, is made a condition of Communion; and other Pastors, if they will hold on with them, must suffer *\* that good thing, which has been committed to their Trust*, to be extinguish'd, without standing up, according to their duty and solemn undertaking, to minister the same. Which will make it necessary for all, who will choose to stand by Christ and his Truths, rather than by such his Apostatizing Servants and Corrupters thereof, to depart from them. \* 2 Tim. 1. 14.

When therefore the Bishops and Pastors of any Church, fall off from ministring necessary Christian Doctrine or Worship; and especially when they come to allow their Communion to none, who will go on administring the same; they thereby loosen the bands of Union, and break that spiritual dependance and relation, which the People, and other inferior Pastors, ought to have upon them. They are no longer the true *Joints*, to compact the Members; nor the *Head of Unity*, to keep together the Body of the Church. And thus it was at the *Reformation*, under *Queen Elizabeth*, with the *Popish Bishops*; whose corrupt Worship and Doctrine, yea, and rigorous exaction of compliance with both from all who expected to hold Communion with them, had set their Churches at liberty to go off from them, as I formerly observed, and to seek more Orthodox Bishops in their room. And so it would be in the case of other Bishops, especially of those who espouse a Schism, and communicate with Anti-Bishops in opposition to the true Bishops, if they fall from ministring necessary Christian Truths, whether of Faith, or of Moral Doctrine and Worship, as in the fore-mentioned Cases.

And :



And when the Church is thus looſed of its dependance on their Perſons, by the defection of ſuch erring Biſhops; it may be free to unite it ſelf, to other Orthodox Biſhops. Either to receive ſuch an one, for its own local Biſhop, as was done at the Reformation, by ſubſtituting Orthodox and Reformed Biſhops, into the Sees of Popiſh Biſhops. Or, till it can have that, by receiving the Benefit of Epiſcopal and Prieſtly Acts, from any other Orthodox Biſhops and Clergy, as they can be met with. It may fetch all Orthodox Miniſtrations and ſpiritual Functions, from other places, when it cannot have them from an Orthodox Paſtor, or

\* Quid in the Unity of the Church, at home. This it may do, ſays \* St. Cyprian in this Caſe, *As well as the Mariners, when their own Port is ſanded, or otherwiſe inſecure, may paſs it by, and put in at another. Or, as well as the Travellers, when their own Inn is beſet with Thieves, may take up their Lodging at another, which is more ſafe.*

enim ſi in mari portus aliquis munitionibus ſuis ruptis, infeſtus & periculofus eſſe Navibus cœperit; nonne Navigantes, ad alios proximos Portus Naves ſuas dirigunt, ubi ſit tutus & ſalutaris introitus, & ſtatio ſecura? Aut ſi in via ſtabulum aliquod obſideri; & teneri a Latronibus cœperit, ut quiſquis ingreſſus fuerit, inſidiantium illic infeſtatione capiatur: Nonne commeantes hac opinione comperta, ſtabula alia in itinere appetunt tutiora, ubi ſint fida hœpitia, & receptacula Commeantibus tuta? Quod nunc eſſe apud nos eſſe debet, ut Fratres noſtros, qui vitatis Marciani ſcopulis petunt Eccleſiæ Portus ſalutares, ſuſcipiamus, &c. & ſtabulum Commeantibus præbeamus, &c. Cyp. Ep. 68. p. 178.

And as the People of ſuch defeſting Biſhops and Paſtors, may ſeek out, and unite themſelves to others, for all neceſſary Miniſtrations; ſo may thoſe other Orthodox Biſhops and Clergy, who are ſought to, be free to receive and ſupply them. This is plain of both, becauſe the Church, where of the one are Members, and the other are Biſhops or Prieſts, is a Catholick Church. For being Catholick, its Baptiſms, and Ordinations, are Catholick; and make, as the one Chriſtians, ſo the other Biſhops and Prieſts, that muſt be owned for ſuch over all the Chriſtian Church, and not only in ſome limited Parts, or Diſtricts thereof. And betwixt the Members of this Catholick Church, there is to be a Communion of Saints; ſo that the one may receive as Members, and the other adminiſter all ſpiritual Acts and Functions as Paſtors, as there is opportunity, and as need requires. When the Orthodox Members of ſuch defeſting Paſtors, come to them; conſidering the Catholiciſm of the Church, thoſe never ſo far remote in place, they muſt own them as their Brethren: and profeſſing the Communion of Saints, they muſt receive them to their Communion. When, ſhuning the Rocks in their own defeſting Church, they ſeek a more ſafe harbour in theirs, 'tis their part \* to receive them with a prompt humanity, and to give them ſuch reception, as was given to

\* Fratres, qui vitatis Marciani ſcopulis petunt Eccleſiæ

Portus ſalutares, ſuſcipiamus ad nos prompta & benigna humanitate, & ſtabulum Commeantibus præbeamus tale, quale eſt in Evangelio, quo a Latronibus ſauciati & vulnerati ſuſcipi, & foras, & tutari ab ſtabulario poſſunt, Cyp. Ep. 68. p. 178.

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47. p. 592.

him who had ſaln among Thieves in the \* Gofpel; not only to let them \* Luke, in, but to take all due and needful care of them, ſaith St. Cyprian. 10. 30. &c.

Yea, and as Chriſtian Biſhops, they are to look upon this Reception, and theſe Miniſtrations, as one part of their Epiſcopal Charge. For they are Biſhops of the Catholick Church, as well as of their own Sees; and have relation to the whole Church, as well as to their own Dioceſes. The Adminiſtration he has received, is not

only for his own Flock, but \* for the Church in common, ſays St. Ignatius, of the Biſhop of Philadelphia. And || Chriſt has committed to you, not only your own, but the Universal Church, ſays Eleutherius to the Gallicane Biſhops. And though, as being more eſpecially Biſhops of that place, they have more particular Obligation to

look after their own Flocks: Yet, as Catholick Biſhops, they muſt be concerned for the whole Church, and look on it, or any deſtitute parts thereof, as their own, as occaſion requires. \* It behoves us all to extend our Care,

and watch over the Body of the whole Church, whoſe Members are diſpoſed through each of the various Provinces, ſay the Presbyters and Deacons of Rome to Cyprian, on his informing them

of the Depoſition of Privatus Lambertiannus the Heretick. And unum Gregem paſcimus, though we be many Paſtors, yet we are to look upon all as one Flock, \* ſays St. Cyprian in this caſe. Though holding it in \* Ep. 68. Partnership, we are ſeveral Biſhops; yet, as there is but one Church, P. 178. ſo there is || but one Epiſcopate, ſays he again, whereof every particular || Epiſcopatus Biſhop holds a part; but holds it ſo, as to ſtand obliged and answerable, unus eſt, on occaſion, not only for his own particular proportion, but, as Partners cujus a in a Bond, each of them pro Solido, as the legal Phraſe is, or for the ſingulis in Soli- dum pars

tenetur. Eccleſia quoque una eſt, &c. Cyp. de Unit. Eccleſ. pag. 108. vid. & Ep. 55. p. 112.

Thus Eleutherius told the Gallicane Biſhops, That † for this very Cauſe Chriſt had committed to them the Universal Church, that they ſhould labour for all, and not neglect to afford Help to any, as their Needs ſhould require. And Simplicius of Rome, told Acacius of Conſtantinople, That \* to approve himſelf faithful in his Epiſ-

tendaris, ſi non tantum in Eccleſia, cui præſides, ſed ubicunque potueris, pro Unitate Catholica, & pro Paternis Definitionibus ſuadere non renuas, Simplicius Papa ad Acacium Conſtantinop. Ep. 47. p. 592. Tom. 3. Concil. Ed. Bin.

\* — Διακονίαν τὴν ἐς τὸ ὅλον ἀνέχεσθαι. Ignat. Ep. ad Philad. p. 39. Ed. Voff.

|| Universalis vobis a Chriſto Jeſu commiſſa eſt Eccleſia, ut pro omnibus, &c. Eleutherius Papa, Epiſt. ad Gallia Provincias, Tom. 1. Conc. p. 92. Ed. Bin.

\* Omnes enim nos decet, pro corpore totius Eccleſiæ, cujus per varias quaſque Provincias membra diſta ſunt, excubare, Ap. Cyp. Ep. 36. p. 71.

† Hujus rei gratia univerſalis vobis a Chriſto Jeſu commiſſa eſt Eccleſia, ut pro omnibus laboretis, & cunctis opem ferre non negligatis, Eleuth. Papa ubi ſupra.

\* — Ut Creditorum tibimet diſpenſatione Dominica Talentorum, in hac multiplicatione fidelis Servus oſ-

ſopate, he muſt ſtrive for Catholick Unity and the Decrees of the Fathers, not only in that Church where he preſided, but whereſoever he could. And Chryſoſtom ſays, St. Euſtathius Biſhop of Antioch, had well learned by the

\* Οὐκ ἐκέλευς ὁ ὁνὸς κήδεσθαι  
δεῖ τῆς παρὰ τὸ πνεύματος ἐγκει-  
ριθείας αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς  
κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν κειμένης, Chryſ.  
Hom. in S. Euſtathium Antioch, Hom.  
93. Tom. 5. p. 631. Ed. Sav. & Ed.  
Front. Duc. Tom. 1. Hom. 52.

\* S. Baſil. *dria, Euſtathius of Antioch, and Chryſoſtom. And of the Great Atha-  
naſius, \* who took as much care of all other Churches, as he did of his own,*  
Ep. 52. *as St. Baſil ſays.*

Nor ought they to be hinder'd from ſuch Miniſtration, and Reception of the Members of other Churches, by any Canonical Rules for Unity in the Church. For, that Hereſie, or Deſection from Chriſtian Doctrine, whether in Faith or Practice, and from Chriſtian Worſhip, which ſets aſide the Obligations of Unity towards thoſe deſecting Biſhops and Paſtors, muſt alſo of courſe therewith ſet aſide thoſe Cano-

\* Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. p. 6. &  
Conſil. Laod. Can. 57.

† Can. Ap. 35. & Conc Antioch,  
Can. 13. & 22. & Concil. Conſtant.  
1. & 2 Can. 2.

Force towards ſuch Perſons. And accordingly at Arles, when Marcianus their Biſhop was ſaln to the Novatians, \* Cyprian thought it behoved him and other Biſhops, to ſee the Needs of the Faithful there ſupplied, That they might no longer be left a Prey for Wolves, without all hopes (after the Novatian Rigour) of the Churches Peace and Communion after once they had ſaln. And under the Arian Hereticks, the Great Athanaſius, when out of his own Diſtrict, \* held Ordinations in other Churches, as he paſſed through them, as Socrates reports. Even the Great Council of Conſtantinople, in that very Canon, which forbids || Biſhops to intermeddle either in Ordinations, or in other Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtrations, without their own Precincts: yet makes an Exception † of theſe Churches, that are in Barbarous Nations, for whoſe Relief they might do this: As Eminent Preachers, whoſe

\* Ἐν πῶσι δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταῖς  
ἄλλων παροικίας χειροτονίας ἐποιεῖ,  
Soc. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 24. p. 115.

|| Τὸς ὑπὲρ διοικήσιν ἐπισκόπους  
καὶ ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὲ ἐπι-  
νεύει, ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις ἢ τισὶν ἄλλαις  
οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς.

† Ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρίοις ἔθνεσιν τῶ θεῷ  
ἐκκλησίαις, Can. 2. Concil. 1. Con-  
ſtantinop.

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they went among them, \* might ſtill confirm thoſe they had gained to the Faith in other Provinces, according to their Cuſtom: Which, though againſt the Canons, the Council ſtill allow'd, ſay Baſamon and Zonaras upon the Canon; for the neceſſity of the thing.

πομπῆς, προφουτῶν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑτέροις τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίαις, ὥς διὰ τὴν περὶ τῆς πίστεως προ-  
σίουσας, ἐνέδωκεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος, καὶ ἐπέτι πολυτέλειαν τὸ τοῦτον εἶναι, καὶ παρὰ κανόνας ἐστὶ,  
διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάσιον τῶν πραγμάτων, Balf. in Can. 2. Conc. Conſtant. 1 vid. & Zonar. in Canonem.

And thus alſo Presbyters and People, may hold Aſſemblies independant on their own Deſecting Biſhops, or on any others. The Apoſtoliſal Canons allowing

Prieſts to have Meetings ſeparate from their Biſhops, when they do it \* as condemning them of Impiety [ in † Doctrīne ] or of Injuſtice [ in Admi- niſtration, as depoſing them for the ſake of Truth, or of a good thing, &c. ] And the Council of Conſtantinople, though it || forbids Inferiours, before Synodical Sentence, to caſt off the Communion of their Superiour on pretence of Criminal Cauſes, as \* Fornication, Symony, or Transgreſſion of the Canons, as Baſamon comments: yet allows it in caſe of Hereſie condemn'd by former Synods, or by the Holy Fathers, ſo ſoon as he begins bare-faced to teach it in the Church. And the Council of Carthage, when it † Condemns Presbyters for ſetting up ſeparate Altars from their Biſhops, makes this Exception, || unleſs they have againſt him a juſt Expoſtulation. And an \* Allegation of False Doctrīne, or leading the Church wrong, is ſuch a juſt Expoſtulation, as Baſamon obſerves upon the Canon. Theſe Rules, for preſerving Order and Concord among Biſhops and Churches, are binding towards any Biſhops, who are in the Unity of the Church, and are Orthodox. But if either they are falſe to ſet up Unchriſtian Worſhip, or Doctrīne; or, as I obſerved before, are turned Schiſmaticks, or ſet up as Anti-Biſhops in Chriſt's Church: They bind none towards ſuch Biſhops. They are no longer Heads of Union, and ſo cannot claim the Benefit of theſe Rules for Unity; which, by their Schiſm, or Deſection, is at an end towards them.

Thus doth Hereſie, or a defection from neceſſary Doctrīne or Worſhip, diſcharge Church Members, from their Spiritual and Canonical dependance and union, with their deſecting Biſhops and Paſtors. Prieſts

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\* Κατεργακῶς τῶ ἐπιſκόπῳ ἐν ἐκ-  
σεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοſύνῃ, Can. 31. Ap.  
† περὶ τὴν ὑπεβείαν ſφαλλομένῳ,  
Zon. in Can.

|| Concil. Conſtant. 1 & 2 Can.  
13, 14, 15.

\* ἐγκληματικὰ διὰ αἰτιμάτων ἐκ-  
σεβείᾳ, ἱεροſουλία, καὶ ἡ κανόνων  
ἀδελφότης, Balf. ad Can. 15. & ſo Zo-  
naras lb.

† Can. 10. Conc. Carth.

|| Μήποτε κατὰ τὸ ἐπιſκόπῳ μέ-  
μῳ ἐχῇ δικαίαν, Can. 11. Concil.  
Carthag.

\* Μέμῳ, μὴ ἐπιτῆς εἶναι ἐξ ἀμαρ-  
τήματός, ἢ ἀπὸ ἄλλης αἰτίας αἰτίας  
ἐγκληματικῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δογμα-  
τικῆς, Balf. in Can. 11.



are no longer tyed to such erring Bishops, nor the People to either, in such Cases. So that a defection to sinful Worship, and damnable Doctrine, bereaves Men of all Arguments from Scripture or Canons, for their Subjects to depend on them, or to unite with them.

If therefore in any division of a Church, it can truly be Objected to one side, that they are fallen from holy and true Worship and Doctrine; it is not for them to plead the duty of Union, or to tell People of their Obligations to unite with them. If before they were the true Heads, and the Regular and Canonical Bishops of those places; yet would their falling into those Unchristian Errors, strip them of those Claims. The Union taught by *Christ*, and the Holy Scriptures, and directed by the Rules and Canons of the Church, supposes Men Orthodox; but is not to unite with such defectors. Nor is any Charity, which they can pretend to in seeking to keep all others united to themselves, the Charity which he requires. For that *Charity, which is the end of the Commandment*, must be out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, as *St. Paul* says, *1 Tim. 1. 5.* It must be out of a pure heart, and a good conscience: and so is only a seeking to have them one with us, whilst we go together in keeping the Commandments, or in the practice of good things; not like the *Charity or Love of Thieves, and Murderers*, that associates and binds them together in the practice of ill things, as *St. Chrysostom* \* notes. And it must also be out of faith unfeigned; and so is a seeking to unite them to our selves, not in dangerous Errors, but only in Orthodox and Christian Doctrines. Whereas, the pains that is taken to bring all over to them in the Breach of Gods Laws, and embracing of Unchristian Doctrine, or to be one with them in Error and Wickedness; is not Charity, but destruction, to those who are seduced by them.

If such defection from pure Worship and Doctrine is their Case, the guilt of making a division lyes plainly at their doors. In such Breaches, *St. Paul* notes the *Dividers from the Doctrine*, as making the Schism; and not the faithful Adherers to it, who refuse to break off from it, in order to their keeping on with them. Mark those, as causing the Divisions or Offences, who go contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, faith he, *Rom. 16. 17.* And divisions made by such defection, are incurable by any thing, but their own repentance and return to their former ways. Their Brethren can not heal, or close them, by following them in their defection; because that is to be false to Truth, and to their own and others Souls, which are all in danger of perishing by straying from the same.

Nay, should they do as they desire, and all come over; that would only be a false and seeming Cure, but really make the Breach wider. For the whole Body of Christians, from the beginning to the end, are

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but one Church. And thoſe Chriſtian Societies, which make up this one Church, are the ſeveral Churches of all times and places. *All true Chriſtians, which now are, or formerly have been, or hereafter ſhall be,* are all Members of one and the ſame Body, as I formerly ſhewed.

So that the Unity, which good Chriſtians are to aim at, is to appear of one Society and Communion, with the whole Body of faithful Chriſtians, from *firſt to laſt*: with all the faithful, who have kept to this Unity, and are now in Heaven; as well as with all, who either now are, or hereafter ſhall be in earth, doing the ſame. Or, to be found united, and in the Communion of that Body, or general Collection and Aſſembly of Saints, who ſhall all appear together as one Body, that has kept up the Faith and Unity of the Church, in oppoſition to all Heretical or Schiſmatical Oppugners thereof, at the laſt Day. And they are lamentably out, and take their Aim too narrow, who look only at keeping an external Union, with the Aſſemblies and Religious Societies of their own place and time; though that be in breaking off from the Way and Communion, of all the faithful Chriſtians of other places at that time, and of all that are gone before them, and will make them appear ſeparately from the general Aſſembly and great Collection of Saints, at the laſt Day.

Now true Doctrine and Worſhip, as I have ſhewn, are among the chief Ligaments, in this Body of Chriſts Holy Catholick Church. And if even any regular Biſhops, or Metropolitans, with their reſpective Societies or Churches, break off from any neceſſary Truths, or Worſhip of Chriſt, they break off at the ſame time, from all this great Body of faithful Chriſtians of all other other places and times, who are all united and incorporated in them, and ſtand upon them. And if theſe deſectors, appear to make the Generality, or great Number, in their own particular Times, and Countries; yet are they but a handful, compared to that General Body or Collection on the other ſide, whom they have deſected and broke from, and who will ſtand all in one compact Body againſt them, at the laſt Day. *viz. the Catholick Church of all Times and Places.* So that thoſe few faithful among them, who continue firm, and ſtand out againſt their deſection, do not go off from the main Body, or greateſt Numbers, but ſtick to them; the Catholick Church of all Ages and Countries, which makes the vaſt Body, and infinitely the greateſt Number, being in reality with them. The Catholick Church, conſiſting of our Saviour Chriſt, of Apoſtles and Prophets, Martyrs and Confessors, and of all the truly Faithful, who have gone before us, are now, or ſhall be after us, when all is done will make the Body. And thoſe few Faithful Chriſtians ſticking to this, when the numerous Deſectors in thoſe Countries ſtart from it, ſtick to the Body. So that, as the *Council of Conſtantinople* declares of *theſe,*

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 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐσπένδασαν ἰϋσαῖναι,

Conc. Constant. 1 & 2 Can. 15. || Cum Unanimitas & Concordia nostra scindi omnino non debeat, quia nos Ecclesia derelicta foras exire, & ad vos venire non possumus, ut vos magis ad Ecclesiam Matrem, & ad nostram Fraternitatem revertamini, quibus possumus hortamentis petimus & regamus, Cyp. Ep. 46. p. 89.

who break off Communion with their Bishops, yea, before Synodical Sentence, when once they openly teach any Heresie condemn'd by the Holy Fathers or Councils, by so doing, \* they do not rend the Unity of the Church by Schism, but study to free, or defend it, against Schisms or Divisions. So at such times, they must bespeak their Brethren, as St. Cyprian did the Confessors, who sided with the Schismatick Novatian. || Because we can not leave the Church, and come over to you, which, instead of patching up, would be to break and divide the Churches Concord and Unanimity: We beseech you, by all the ways we can, that you would return and come back again to your Mother the Church, and to our Fraternity.

By keeping then to the necessary Doctrines and Worship of Christ, of the Catholick Church, and of our own Church, we keep united to them; and so far, as we break off from these, we answerably break off from them. And therefore the running in of more into such defection, instead of closing up the Schism, would increase it. It would only make the more People guilty, of dividing, and standing off from Christ, and from the Catholick Church, as that contains all Orthodox Christians and Right Churches, who are gone before us, or are now, or shall be after us. Yea, from all their Ancestors, during all the Successions of them to their unhappy defection, in their own Church. And even from themselves, in all their own best dayes, whilst they stood true to their own pure Worship and Orthodox Principles. Which is such a way of healing Schisms, as Rebellion is of remedying Grievances; that is, instead of taking any off, it brings abundance more upon us.

And this makes the Charge of Schism stronger, and more aggravated in the fore-mentioned Cases, where the Corruptions of Doctrine and Worship make them a corrupt Church, as well as the setting up of Anti-Bishops makes them a Schismatical Church. There is plainly a Schism in making of Anti-Bishops, which is a setting up of opposite Altars. But it is a more wicked and ungodly Schism, when these opposite Altars are set up for wicked and ungodly purposes, to head sinful and unchristian Worship and Doctrines. That Schism, is complicated with Heresie, or other dangerous depravation of Religion. It is not only making a Breach in the Church; but withal, it is forming a Party against Truth and Holiness. It is giving Religion a second Blow, to maintain a former; and setting up one ill thing, to secure a worse. It seeks to confederate Men in the Breach of Unity, that it may hold them fast.

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fast in Breach of Piety, or Moral Honesty. And a Schism so set up to strike at Religion, is more impious in the sight of God, and of all good men, and the Guilt thereof is more flagrant. And besides, 'tis incurable by any, but themselves. For the Schismatics run into such a Breach, to maintain a Quarrel against Truth and Righteousness. And in that, they must go by themselves; for none, who will take any due care of their precious Souls, ought to bear them company. So, there can be no Re-union, till they return from their wicked and ungodly Schism, to the way of Truth and Righteousness, which they had forsaken.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the Communion of good Christians, or with whom they are to joyn in Divine Offices, under a Schism.*

HAVING said thus much, to shew on any division of Churches, whilst faithful Pastors stand firm to their Ministrations in the fore-mentioned Cases, who make the Schism, and who can cure it, I now proceed,

3. In the *Third* place, to Treat of the Communion of good Christians under a Schism, and how they are to carry themselves towards Schismatics.

As for their Communion, 'tis plain, in division between Right and Wrong, both as to the Church-Heads, and Religious Doctrines and Worship, they ought to take the right side.

As they who are at the Head of that, are the *Canonical* and *Rightful Bishops*, they are bound to communicate with them. For the Rightful Bishops being the true Heads of Union, the Members must keep true to their Head, and hold Communion therewith. And this they are ty'd to, by all the Gospel-precepts about *Union*, which require their \* *keeping one*, or † *one Body*, or || *keeping the Bond of Peace* in Churches. For this *Unity* and *Peace* of Churches, must bind them to keep united and at Peace with their Bishops, who, under *Christ*, are the Governours, and Spiritual Heads thereof. And by that grand Vertue of *Charity*, so often and earnestly \* required of the Members, and that † above all things, that || they may edifie or build up one another into a spiritual Society. For this *Charity*, which is \* the *Bond* to bind the Members together, not only in private Affections, but into one common Body or Church, must bind them all to these Rightful Bishops, who are the Heads and Rulers of that Body, that by keeping united to those Bishops, they may keep one Society, and not be broken into several Societies. And

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\* 1 Cor. accordingly St. Cyprian presses that *Charity*, which \* St. Paul makes so necessary to the acceptance of all other Vertues, even *Faith*, or *Mat-tyrdom* it self; as indispensably obliging all good Christians, to keep in the Communion of their true and rightful Bishops, as I observed

\* Ch. 1. \* before.

Part 3.

And as these true and rightful Bishops, are at the Head of necessary Gospel-worship and Doctrines, when their Opposers fall off from them, good Christians are yet more bound to hold to their Communion. They are tyed thereto then, not only for the rightful Bishops, but also for pure Worship and necessary Truths sake. For true Christians, must seek to communicate in these. And that must be, by communicating in the Ministrations of those Pastors, which hold to them. Besides, these, in any competition, are Christ's true *Shepherds*, and *trusty Watch-men*, and *faithful Guides*, and *uncorrupt Teachers*, and *faithful Ministers*: because they are the Men, who faithfully minister his Word, and give his Warnings, and dispense that Food, which is to keep those Souls alive whom he has given them the Care of. And all these, are no idle Characters, but speak answerable Obligations in the People, as I have shew'd

\* Ch. 7.

Part 1.

† Rom.

15. 6.

|| 1 Cor.

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\* before, to attend on their Ministrations, and unite themselves to them. And this, the Scripture requires in those Precepts, which command us, in † glorifying God, to have one mind and mouth; to be || perfectly joy'd together in the same mind and judgment, and speak the same things; and the like. For this speaking the same, is speaking the same with those who speak right, not with those who speak wrong. And this Union of minds and judgments, must be in uniting with men of Orthodox minds, or that hold all necessary Christian Doctrines: For if any fall off from these, we must not be of one mind with them, but of different minds. I add moreover, that Association and Union of Church-Members under Bishops, is for visible Profession and Ministration of pure Worship and Doctrine. And therefore they must unite with those Bishops, who profess and administer the same. Yea, their care of their own Safety, no less than the love of Truth, will make them fly to such Pastors: As the Saylor's do to the next safe Port, when their own is sanded; or the Travellers to the next secure Inn, when their old one is beset with Thieves, as St. Cyprian \* observes in this Case.

\* Ep. 68.

P. 178.

And as they are thus to hold Communion, and unite themselves to those rightful Bishops, who keep to pure Worship and Doctrine: So are they, on the other hand, to stand off from those, who make the Schism, to maintain a sinful Worship, or corrupt Doctrine.

I do not say, they are to look on these Schismatics and Defectors, as quite fallen from the Relation, and Title of Brethren. A Schismatical or Excommunicate Christian, is still a Christian, not an Infidel, or Heathen. And whilst they continue Christians, they retain, though not in

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much Claim as others, yet some Claim to *Christian Brotherhood*, albeit they have lost their Claim to Communion. *Have no Company or Communion with the segregated Man, saith St. Paul; yet count him not as an Enemy, but admonish him as a Brother, 2 Thes. 3. 14, 15.* And *Optatus* calls the *Schismatical Donatists, Brethren*; tho' \* they would not call the *Catholicks* so, or be call'd so by them. And says, that † they can not but be our *Brethren*, though they are no good *Brethren*; because we and they have one *spiritual Nativity*: Their Baptism, which is the *Christians Birth*, being a valid Baptism, though administred in a Schism; and the *Catholick Church*, as || *St. Austin* says, thereby generating *Sons unto God*, which *Sons* must be our *Brethren*. For *Brotherhood*, they looked on, as consequent on *Nativity*, and going along with it; but *Communion*, as going with *spiritual society and conversation*. Though at other times, by *Brotherhood* they understood, not only the *spiritual Nativity*, but also the *spiritual society and communion of Brethren*: And then, Hereticks and Schismaticks were shut out, from that Name and Salutation.

\* — Omnibus notum sit, quod nolunt se dici Fratres nostros.

† — Sunt sine dubio Fratres, quamvis non boni. — Non possunt non esse Fratres. Est quidem nobis & illis una spiritualis Nativitas, &c. *Optat. Milev. de Schism. Donat. l. 1. p. 34.*

— Non enim potestis non esse Fratres, quos iisdem Sacramentorum visceribus, una Mater Ecclesia genuit: quos eodem modo adoptivos Filios Deus Pater excepit, *Id. l. 4. p. 77. Ed. Par. Albaspin.*

— Propter Communia Sacramenta Frater meus est, *Augustin. in Collat. Cath. 3. c. 235.*

|| — Itaque est una Ecclesia, quæ sola Catholica nominatur, & quicquid suum habet in Communione diversorum a sua unitate separatis, per hoc, quod suum in iis habet, ipsa utique generat, non illæ. — Hæc itaque in omnibus generat, cujus Sacramenta continentur, unde possit tale aliquid ubicunque generari; quamvis non omnes quos generat ad ejus pertineant Unitatem, quæ usque in finem perseverantes salvat, *Augustin. de Bapt. Cont. Donat. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

But though, as not having sals from their Baptism and Christianity, they may, on the score of their common Nativity, still admit them to be *Christian Brethren*: Yet, as being schismatical and defecting Brethren, they must reject, and stand off from their Communion. They must disown the erroneous and schismatical Bishops and Ministers, disclaiming all Ecclesiastical Dependence upon them. And hold off from their Religious Assemblies, and not come to joyn in their Prayers, and Sacraments, and sacred Offices: *Church-communion*, lying mainly in joyning in these Assemblies and sacred Offices; as Excommunication lyes, in the excluding and debarring from the participation thereof.

They are to avoid them, as they are *Associates or Adherents of Anti-Bishops*, and *makers of a Schism*. For the Scripture-direction is, to mark those, which cause Divisions and Offences, and to avoid them, *Ro. 16. 17.* And if any man is disobedient and refractory to Church-powers, which

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he is to the height, who throws them quite off, and sets up others against them, to note that man, and to have no company with him, 2 Thes. 3. 14. And Schisms or Seditions, the Apostle reckons among Works of the Flesh, which exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven: So that they, who would secure that, must be careful not to joyn, or partake with them, Gal. 5. 20. 21. Especially, if to the Guilt of Schism, they also add that of Heresie, which the Apostle also there ranks among the deadly Works of the Flesh; or make Parties, especially consummate them by setting up of Anti-Bishops, to head destructive Errors, or a defection from Gods pure Worship and Doctrines. If any turn bringer of false Doctrines, bid him not God speed, nor receive him into your houses, which were to be partakers of his evil Deeds, says St. John, 2 Jo. 10. 11. Thus St. Paul bids them \* look to the Judaizers, and avoid them, Phil. 3. 2. And St. John, when he went to bath himself at Ephesus, leaped out of the Bath unwash'd when he espyed the Heretick Cerinthus, declaring he would not stay with such an Enemy of the Truth, as \* Irenaeus reports from Polycarp. Yea, and Polycarp himself, as he adds, refused the Heretick Marcion any friendly commerce or fraternal salutation. So studiously cautious, says he, were the Apostles and their Disciples, of entering into any communion, so much as of discourse, with those who adulterated the Truth.

And of this Obligation, to shun the communion of Schismaticks and corrupt Teachers, Christians had a great sense, in the first and best Ages

of the Church. Thus St. Ignatius, that blessed Martyr and Contemporary of the Apostles, when he bids \* the Sheep to follow the Shepherd, and tells them, † they who are Gods and Jesus Christ, will go with their Bishop: to caution them against siding with any who set up against him. † tells the Philadelphians, that if any will turn follower of him, who makes a Schism, he has no inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven. And

\* Ὅπως δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστὶ, ἐκὼς ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε, Ignat. Ep. ad Philad. p. 40. Ed. Voff.

† Ὅσοι γὰρ θεῶν ἐσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔτι μετὰ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐσὶν, lb.

‡ Μὴ πλανᾷθε ἀδελφοὶ, εἴ τις ῥιζοῦντι ἀκολουθεῖ βασιλεῖαν θεῶν καὶ κληρονομή, lb.

\* Adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegium est, God. † He, who leaving the true Bishop, sets up another Altar, and pro-  
cunq; humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. Speaking of the Novum Sacerdotium, and of the aliud Altare præter unum Altare, Cyp. Ep. 43. p. 83. † Arma ille contra Ecclesiam portat. contra Dei dispositionem repugnat; hostis Altaris, adversus Sacrificium Christi rebellis pro Fide perfidus, pro Religione sacrilegus, inobsequens Servus, Filius impius, Frater inimicus contemptis Episcopis & Dei Sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere audet aliud Altare, Precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, De Unit. Eccl. p. 116.

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sumes to celebrate another Prayer or Divine Service different from his, wears Arms, says he in another place, against the Church, and resists Gods Ordinance: he is an Enemy of the Altar, and a Rebel against Christs Sacrifice, for the Faith he is perfidious, for Religion he is sacrilegious, he is an undutiful Servant, an impious Son, an Enemy instead of a Brother.

And having set out these Schismatical Associates, as so full of Sin and Provocation, he warns all, who would be careful of their own Innocence or safety, to stand off from the Communion of such Men. \* A People, that would

fear God, and keep his Commandments, saith he, must not mix it self, or joyn in the Sacrifices of such sacrilegious Dividers. † Avoid those Wolves, says he again, who seek to separate the Sheep from their Shepherd, warning against those five Presbyters, who were then forming a Schism, and soon after set up one of themselves, viz. Fortunatus, an Anti-Bishop against himself at Carthage. If they will perish in their Schism, let them be alone in perishing. Let them remain alone without the Church, who have broke off from it. Let them alone be without the Bishops, who have rebell'd against the Bishops. But depart you from such Men, and be not ye Partakers with them therein. || The Lord admonishes us, adds he, to depart from such Men. And \* If they are to be held as Heathens and Publicanes, who only condemn the Church, according to the Words of our Lord, Mat. 18. 17. much more are the setters up of false Altars, and unlawful Priesthoods, to be held as such, because they are plain Rebels, and profest Enemies thereof.

And besides, their shunning these opposite and false Altars, and keeping firm to the true, he tells them is necessary to give them the benefit of Christian Communion. † For whosoever assembleth otherwise, saith he, than under the rightful Bishop, doth not get, but scatter abroad. || If any are not with the Bishop, they are not in the Church. And 'tis a vain flattery and self-deceit, for any, who have not Peace and Communion with their Bishop, to fancy it is the same thing, and that they may still have the Benefit of Ecclesiastical Communion, by creeping in privately, and being admitted by others set up against him.

Such was the sense, which the Holy Apostles had instill'd, and which

\* Mebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, & Deum metuens, a Peccatore præposito seperare se debet, nec se ad Sacrilegi Sacerdotis Sacrificia miscere, Ep. 67. p. 171.

† Vitate Lupos, qui Oves a Pastore fecernunt, &c. Discedite a talibus, &c. — Pereant sibi soli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Ecclesiam soli remaneant, qui de Ecclesia recesserunt. Soli cum Episcopis non sint, qui contra Episcopos rebellant, Ep. 43. p. 84.

|| Docet Dominus, & admonet, a talibus recedendum — averſandus est talis, atque fugiendus, quisquis fuerit ab Ecclesia seperatus — vitate quæso ejusmodi homines, & a latere atque auribus vestris pernicioſa Colloquia velut Contagium mortis arcete, De Unit. Eccl. p. 115, 116.

\* Si autem qui Ecclesiam contemnant, Ethnici & Publicani habentur, multo magis utique Rebelles & Hostes, falsa Altaria, & illicita Sacerdotia, & Sacrificia sacrilega, &c. fingentes, inter Ethnicos & Publicanos, necesse est computentur, Cyp. Ep. 69. p. 180, 181.

† Quisquis alibi collegerit, (the Assemblies or Synaxes being call'd collectæ) spargit, Cyp. Ep. 43. p. 83.

|| Si qui cum Episcopo non sint, in Ecclesia non esse: & frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus Dei non habentes, obrepunt, & latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt, Cyp. Ep. 66. p. 168.



which the Primitive Christians had carefully retained, of their *strict Obligations*, to keep united to their own *Orthodox rightful Bishops*, and to *shun the Communion of all Schismatical Opposers of them, or of Heretical Teachers*. And this shunning of such Communion, must not be looked upon, as the effect of Anger, or Peevishness; or, as an Expression, not of Religion, but of meer human Passions, which took place in the Church, as Charity grew cold and wore off. For this was most, in the days of the *Apostles* themselves, and of their Contemporaries, and their nearest Successors; as may appear from the fore-cited Scriptures, and Testimonies of *Ignatius, Irenaeus, and Cyprian*. When Charity was the highest, as it will be confest to have been in those times; they were the choicest in their Communion, and stood furthest off from all Schismatics and Hereticks, refusing them the Commerce, not only of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Ministrations, but even of Civil Offices and Respect. And this, by the direction of those Apostles, *St. Paul* and *St. John*, who abounded more than any in pressing Charity; not bearing to *\*keep company, or to †eat with them*, as *St. Paul*; to give them the common salutation || of *God speed*, or to receive them into their Houses, as *St. John*, who would not so much as *stay in the Bath with Cerinthus*, nor his Disciple *Polycarp* give the *Salutation to the Heretick Marcion*, as I observed from *Irenaeus*.

So that Charity, when at the height, was highest towards God, for sustaining his Worship and Doctrine, visibly bearing it up by the Church, and in the Unity thereof. But was not for being any ways wanting to a Church-Profession and Maintenance of them, in tendernefs and compliance to those who defected from them. But Christians abated of these first Rigours, in shuning all Commerce with such Persons, as the first Charity and Zeal for pure Doctrine and Worship grew less, and as they were driven thereto, especially in point of civil Commerce, by Hereticks and Schismatics growing more numerous, and (through the lamentable Divisions of Christendom,) lying intermix'd in all places, which render'd the former renunciation of civil Commerce, as less adviseable, so less practicable in the Church. For when they fill'd all places, they would be met with in all places, and intermix in all dealings. And then, not to have any *Company or Dealings* with such, they must needs go out of the World, which *St. Paul* gives as one Reason of Relaxation and Allowance in this Case, *1 Cor. 5. 10*. So that continuing still to shun Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Communion with such Markers of Schisms; especially for the setting up of a sinful Worship, and Unchristian Doctrines and Practices; is so far from being a defection from the *Apostolical and Primitive Charity*, that it is a keeping up to it, and is only a retaining of their *first Love*, which ought in all times faithfully to be kept on in all true Churches.

\* 2Thes.  
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† 1 Cor.  
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Chap. 5

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# Chap. 5. Of the Communion of good Christians during a Schism.

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Now as to the Persons whom this will affect, and whose Communion by this Rule is to be shuned in such Cases; it bars this Communion with those, who set up and make the Anti-Bishops, or who file and take part with them.

1. It affects the Electors, who chose the Men; and their Ordainers and Consecrators, who laid hands on them. For these, give Heads to the New Bodies, and create the Schism. Others, may seditiously call for it, or come in to it when once 'tis form'd; but their part is to give it a Head, which formally constitutes and sets it up, so that they are Principals therein.

2. And those, who own subjection and dependance on these Anti-Bishops, in opposition to their Old Ones; and, as Members, unite and incorporate under them.

Thus it is among the Pastors, by whom their Authority is received, and who thereby all break off from the rightful Bishop, to whom in all their Ministrations they ought to keep subject and dependant. The Rule of Communion, for Priests and Deacons towards their Bishop, is to do all

Publick Ministrations according to his Allowance and Consent. \* Let the Presbyters or Deacons do nothing without the Consent of the Bishop, say the Apostolical Canons, and the Council of † Laodicea afterwards; for 'tis the Bishop, to whose Trust the Lords People is committed, and from whom an Account of their Souls will be required. And

|| If any will be for having the Offices of the Church without the Concurrence of a fitting Presbyter, who officiates according to the Bishops approbation and allowance, let him be Anathema, says the Council of Gangra. And \* If any Clergy celebrate Divine Offices in private Oratories, or baptize, not † according to the Mind and Allowance of the Bishop, but besides, or contrariant to it, let them incur Deposition, say the Council in Trullo, and the Council of Constantinople.

|| The Church is settled upon the Bishops, and every Act of the Church ought to be governed by them, saith St. Cyprian. \* Let none do any of those things, which concern the Church or publick Service, without the Bishop, says St. Ignatius, that

\* Οι πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ διάκονοι ἀνὰ γνώμης τῆς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πιστεύμενος τὸν λαὸν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ σπέρει τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λέγοντες αὐτῷ, Can. 39. Ap.

† — ὁσάντας καὶ πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους μηδὲν πράττειν ἀνὰ τῆς γνώμης τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, Conc. Laod. Can. 57.

|| Ἐπεὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλει πράττειν μὴ συνόντες τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ κατὰ γνώμην τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἀνάθεμα ἐστίν, Conc. Gangr. Can. 6.

\* Τῶν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἵεροὶ οἰκίας ὅτι λειτουργήντες, ἢ βαπτίζοντες κληρικὸς παρὰ γνώμην τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καθαρῶς καὶ καθυστάλλει σύνοδος, Concil. Constant. 1 & 2 Can. 12. & Concil. in Trullo, Can. 31.

† Τὸ γὰρ γνώμην τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, Can. 31. Concil. in Trullo.

|| Ecclesia super Episcopos constituitur, & omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur, Cyr. Ep. 33. p. 66.

\* Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πρᾶσσέτω τὰ ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνη βέβαια εὐχαριστία ἡ γυνῶν. ἢ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἴσα, ἢ ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ — ἐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χεῖρις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐπὶ βαπτίζον, ἐπὶ ἀγᾶσιν ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ ὃ ἀν' ἐκείνῳ δοκιμάσῃ τὸ τοῦ καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. p. 6. Ed. Voss.

*Holy Martyr, and Contemporary of the Apostles. But let that be reputed a valid Eucharist, which is celebrated by those who keep under him, or which is administer'd with his Leave. And that a due*

\* Ἀναγκασθὲν ἔν ἐστιν, ὡς πρὸς πρῶτον, ἀνὰ τῆ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμῶν, Ignat. Ep. ad Tralles. p. 47.

† Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκέρυσσεν λέγων τὰδε. Χώρις τῆ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. Τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ τηρεῖτε. Τὴν ἐνώσιν ἀγαπάτε, τοῦ μερισμὸς φευγέτε, Id. Ep. ad Philadelph. p. 43.

‖ Τινὲς ἐπισκοπὸν μὲν καλεῖσιν, χάρις δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα πράσσειν. οἱ τοῖσιν δὲ ἢ ἐκ ἐκτενέστεται μὲν ἔτι φαίνονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐξουσίαν συναθροίσασθαι, Id. Ep. ad Magnes. p. 32.

\* De Bapt. c. 17.

† Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer, Tom. ep. 2. p. 96. Ed. Col.

‖ Ὡς περὶ ἡν ὁ κύριος ἀνὰ τῶ πατρὶ: ἔδεν ἐποίησε, ἡνωμένῳ ὢν, ὥστε δ' ἑαυτῶ, ἢ τε διὰ τῶ Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τῶς μηδὲ ὑμῶν ἀνὰ τῶ ἐπισκόπου, ἢ τῶ πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράσσετε, Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. p. 33.

But when the Priests and Deacons of a Diocese, turn over from their rightful Bishop to the Anti-Bishop, they live in a flagrant Breach of these Rules of Communion. They do all their Ministrations then, without their Bishop; putting in some things into Divine offices, and putting out others; and observing Days, and other things belonging to their Ministrations, not only without, but quite against his consent and approbation, and altogether by the Authority and jurisdiction of another, who is set up against him. Which is to separate as far as they can, from him, who ought to be their Principle of Union, and to minister in a state of full, and flaming Schism.

And thus it is also in the Assemblies, over which those Rightful Bishops ought to Preside, or in the Churches of their own Dioceses. If they would keep in the state of Unity, they should keep united to their Rightful Bishops, who are the Heads of Union to their several Flocks; and

\* Ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς φανῇ ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ, ἢ τῶ ἐπισκόπου, ἢ τῶς πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ τῶς ἀποστόλων, ἢ τῶς κυρίου. Ὡς περὶ ἡν ὁ κύριος ἀνὰ τῶ πατρὶ: ἔδεν ἐποίησε, ἡνωμένῳ ὢν, ὥστε δ' ἑαυτῶ, ἢ τε διὰ τῶ Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τῶς μηδὲ ὑμῶν ἀνὰ τῶ ἐπισκόπου, ἢ τῶ πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράσσετε, Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6. Ed. Voss. Oxon.



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Like as where Jesus Christ goes, there the Catholick Church goes too, says St. Ignatius. But if they break away, from all Dependance on them, and from all recourse to their ministrations, to Depend on the Anti-Bishops, and to resort to theirs; that makes them all Schismaticks. For all these Assemblies of People and Pastors, make the Schismatical Bodys, whereof the Anti Bishops are the Heads. As the Bishops, set up for the Schismatical Heads; So the Pastors and People, who turn over to them, and assemble under them, come in to be their Schismatical Members. They Form themselves into one Church, by erecting an Ecclesiastical Union and Communion among themselves. And this is a Schismatical Church, as Consisting all of a Party of Members, broke off from their True Heads, or lawful Bishops.

3. Further, it may also affect other Bishops and Churches, who will take their Part, and Communicate with them. For Catholick Unity is to be preserved in the Church, i. e. Unity and Communion is to be kept up among all Churches. And this is, by Rules of Accord; and Correspondence, which give the same Church Acts or matters, the same effects in all places; Of which Rules, I have \* before discoursed more at large. And these Rules, will keep up Catholick Unity, and the Communion of Saints, between all Bishops and Churches; since, this way, they all Communicate, or all in Common refuse to do it, with the same Persons. \* Part 3. Chap. 2.

And therefore if any Bishop of one Church, would side and have Communion with Anti-Bishops, or with the Schismaticks or Hereticks of other Churches: He thereby broke the Rules of Union, as well as they, and became involved in Schism like one of them. For he was as much obliged as others, in care of maintaining Unity to keep off from the Communion of such Schismaticks: Yea, in care of Catholick Unity and Communion, to keep off from the Communion of those who make a Schism from other Catholick Bishops, as if they made it from himself. And if still he will Communicate, and joyn himself to them; he violates Unity, and joyns in a Schism, as any other Man would do, who should do the same. And being found in the Schism with them, he would have been treated as they were, and have fallen from the Communion of all other Orthodox and Catholick Bishops, whose Rule was, to refuse and shun the Communion of Schismaticks, and of their adherents and partakers. Communicating with men out of Communion, he himself would be put out of Communion, as the aforecited Councils say. And thus it was, with Marcianus Bishop of Arles, when he fell to Communicate and joyn himself to Novatian, who was set up as a Schismatical Anti-Bishop against Cornelius, the Rightful and Canonical Bishop of Rome. Thereby, says St. Cyprian, he himself became  
separate



\* *Marcianus Novitiano* studens, & ejus pervicaciam sequens, a Communionem se nostra segregaverit, cum *Novitiano* ipse, quem sequitur, olim absentus, & hostis Ecclesiae judicatus sit. Et cum ad nos in *Africam*, Legatos misisset, optans ad Communionem nostram admitti, hinc a Concilio plurimorum Sacerdotum sententiam retulerit; se foris esse coepisse, nec posse a quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui Episcopo *Cornelio* in Ecclesia Catholica ordinato, profanum Altare erigere—tentaverit. — *Novitiano* se conjugens — ab universis Sacerdotibus ipse est judicatus, *Cyp. Ep. 68. p. 177. & 179.*

separate from our \* Communion, and from the Fraternity of Catholick Bishops, because *Novatian* was so, to whom he joyned himself. The Bishops met in Council in *Africk* answering him, when he sought their Communion, that not one of them could communicate with him, since he had set up Altar against Altar at *Rome*, and made a Schism from *Cornelius*, who before was Legally Ordained the Bishop of that Church.

4. Besides, for surer maintenance of Union, and to compact several Churches together into a closer dependance, there are other Heads of Union among the Bishops themselves. Such are *Metropolitans*, and *Primates*, as *Titus*, I conceive, was left by *St. Pau'* at *Crete*, where he was to \*ordain Elders or Bishops in every City; and *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, where he is † Directed how he shall exercise jurisdiction, and receive accusations against Bishops; which *Metropolitans* and *Primates*, are to Unite and incorporate many Bishops and their Dioceses, into one Province; or several Provinces, by their Concurrence, into one National Church. And such an Head of Union, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* is, among the Bishops in the *English Church*. And the Ecclesiastical Union to be kept up among us, is a *Provincial*, yea a *National Union*. We are to stand united, by our *Articles*, and *Homilies*, *Liturgy*, and *Canons*. And these unite, not only the Christians of each Diocese or District, to their respective Bishops, as so many *Diocesan Churches*: but likewise the Bishops and People of all Dioceses, into the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*; and those two Provinces, into one *National Church*. Accordingly, those *Articles* and *Homilies*, *Liturgy* and *Canons*, which are the Rules of keeping Unity among us, are *Provincial* and *National Acts*, pass'd by concurrence of *Convocations* of both Provinces; where the Bishops and Clergy, meet in Union with, and dependance on their respective *Metropolitans*, who are the respective Heads thereof.

Now, in care of Unity, and the Communion of Saints, the respective Bishops of each Province or Country, are to keep dependant and united to their *Metropolitans*. \* The Bishops of every Nation, ought to know him, who is their *Primate*, and to account him as their Head, say the *Apostolical Canons*. † It behoves every Man to know his own proper

Ap. So also, *Can. 9. Conc. Antioch.* † Δὲ γὰρ ἕκαστος τὰ ὀνόματα μέτρα γνώσκων, καὶ μήτε τὸ πρῶτον παπαφρονεῖν τὸ ὄνομα ἐπισκόπου, μήτε τὸ ἐπίσκοπον τὸ ὄνομα μετροπολίτη -- ἐπεὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ κλήματος πρόβατον ποιῶμεν -- καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μετροπολίτη, πρὸ συνδικῆς διαγνώσεως ἀποστήσει καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸ κοινωνίας, τύπον ὄρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος καθηρημένον εἶναι, καὶ μόνον ἐλεγχθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου μετροπολίτη, καὶ ῥήσμα ποιήσας, *Concil. Constant. 1 & 2 Can. 14.*

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measure, say the Fathers in the Council of Constantinople, and that neither a Presbyter condemn his own Bishop, nor a Bishop condemn his own Metropolitane. And, \* bating the case of Heresie, if any Bishop, on pretence of other personal Crimes, shall depart from the Communion of his Metropolitane, before Synodical Sentence pass'd upon him, he is guilty of Schism, and, though there is nothing else against him, the Holy Synod decrees him to incur a Deposition. And so strict was this dependance, upon the Alexandrian Patriark or Metropolitane of Egypt, binding them || in all things to wait for his Sentence, to \* do nothing without him, nor † beside or against his Approbation: that, on the deposition of their Metropolitane Dioscorus in the Council of Chalcedon, the Egyptian Bishops pray, they may not be compell'd to subscribe Pope Leo's Epistles, before they had a New Metropolitane to head them: and \* accordingly, their subscription was respitted by the Council, till they should have got one.

And for maintenance of this Union, of several Diocesses into one Province, by a joynt-dependance of the several Bishops on their Metropolitane, and adherence to him; it has been the great Rule of the Catholick Church, that none shall be made a Bishop of the Province without him. In Consecration of Bishops, || the validity of all that is done shall be reserved to the Metropolitane, says the great Council of Nice: and † if any one is Ordained a Bishop without his consent, it determines, (and calls it a thing altogether manifest,) that he ought to be no Bishop. It has likewise been another Rule thereof for the same purpose, that no Synods for the common Concern of the Province, be held without them. || The Metropolitanes being to summon the Bishops of the Province, and it not being lawful for any to make Synods of themselves, without them who have the Metropoles committed to them, as the Council of Antioch declares. Yea, that no matters of common concern to the Church, in any Country or Nation, be transacted without him. \* The Bishops of every Country and Nation, being in duty bound to own him, who is the chief among them, &c. and to do nothing that looks beyond their own Precincts or Diocesses, or referring to the common state of the Church, without his sentence, as is Ordained in the Apostolical Canons, and repeated in the Council of Antioch. And the more firmly to secure this regard and dependance, which, for maintenance

\* Ib. Can. 15.

|| Έν ἀπαν ἀναμείναντες τὴν γνώμην τῶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου ἀρχιεπισκόπου. P. 312.

\* Μηδὲν διὰ χάριτος αὐτοῦ πράττειν, Ib. † Παρὰ γνώμην Μηδὲν τοιούτων, P. 314. Concil. Chalced. Part 2. Act. 4. Tom. 3. Conc. Ed. Bin.

\* Ib. P. 315.

|| Τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ διδοῦναι καθ' ἑκάστου ἐπαρχίας τὴν μετροπολίτην, Conc. Nic. 1. Can. 4.

† Καθόλου δὲ πρόβλεπον ἑκάστον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι χωρὶς γνώμης τῶ μετροπολίτου γίνεσθαι ἐπίσκοπον, † περὶ τῶν ἡμετέραν σύνοδον ὡριστὸν μὴ εἶναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, Conc. Nic. 1. Can. 6. vich & Conc. Antioch. Can. 19.

|| Ὅτι παρμνήσκοντες τὸν ἐπαρχίωτας τῶ ἐν τῇ μετροπόλει — μὴ ἐξ-ἴναι δὲ πᾶσι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς συνόδους τοιεῖσαι ἀντὶ τῶν πεποιμένων τὰς μετροπόλεις, Conc. Antioch. Can. 20.

\* Τὸς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστη θύρα εἰσελ-λαίνοι καὶ τῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πρώτον, καὶ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, Can. 34. Ap. & Concil. Antioch. Can. 9.

nance of this Provincial Union, is due from Bishops to their Metropolitans, they make solemn Oath at their Ordination, to pay all due Reverence and Obedience to him, as in our own Office of Consecration.

And as there is this Provincial, and National Union of Churches, which is thus secured by the dependance of Bishops on their Metropolitans; so may there be National and Provincial Schisms, or Breaches thereof. And such there are, when Bishops, and their Clergy and People, break off from their Metropolitane, not falling or receding from his Ecclesiastical Authority over them; and create to themselves an opposite Primate, whom they set up against him. For then, they will make ordinations, and hold Provincial or National Synods, and dispatch matters of common or National concern, without him: so breaking all the Rules of Provincial or National Union, and dividing themselves from their Head, as he is call'd in the \* Apostolical Canons. And when once an Anti-Primate or Metropolitane is made the Head of a Schism, it spreads it into all Dioceses, which will own him, and profess to bear Canonical Obedience and Subjection, or adhere to him. So that in such a Schism, all Dioceses of the Province come in, who do not disclaim the Schismatical Head, and stand off from him.

5. Lastly, when there is not only a setting up of Schismatical and opposite Heads, but moreover this is done in opposition to pure worship and Doctrine, and to support unchristian Corruptions of both: Then the way of worship and Tenets themselves, are Formed into Parties. Men are divided then, in opinion and devotion; and each way has a distinct body or society visibly to bear them up, and profess them. And when opposite Communions, are thus set up for opposite Worship and Articles, mens Communion must go according to their Opinion of the worship and Doctrine. For in a breach made for these, it will not be expected, that men should Unite themselves to those of a contrary minde, and keep off from those of the same minde; but take part with those, who agree with themselves. We must Chuse the Church, for the sake of the Religion, and Unite to that as Christs True Church, which sticks to the True Religion: Church-Unity and Association, always supposing, and following True Christian worship and Doctrine, but never tying any to go off, and separate themselves from the same, as I shew'd before.

Such will be the effect of the preceding Apostolical and Ecclesiastical Rules, for keeping the Unity of the Church, and for avoiding Communion with the Schismatical breakers thereof, and their Assemblies, when a Schism is made, by setting up Anti-Bishops, to Head immoral, or otherwise sinful worship, Doctrines, or Practices, as in the foregoing on'd Cases. The meeting or Communicating in a Schism, has a Guilt and Criminalness of its own, tho' the matter of all the Prayers were

\* Chap. 3.  
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Epist. 73.  
221. Ed.



Good, and the Preaching Orthodox, which they were call'd to communicate in. It alone were a Bar to Communion, and would have the forecited Effects, as I have shewn. But 'tis stronger, when 'tis set up for the Maintenance of Error, and corrupt Devotion; and when Men are drawn into Schism, to be drawn on to other Wickedness, viz. to make shipwreck of Moral Conscience, and to prophane God by immoral Prayers, as they are in the above-named Cases.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of Ordinations of Anti-Bishops, which, though always Schismatical, are not always Nullities.*

What I have said in the foregoing Chapter, I think may be sufficient as to the Point of *Communion with Anti-Bishops and their Adherents*. But I conceive it may not be amiss to add something further concerning *their Orders*; since the *validity or invalidity* thereof, is of greatest Consequence and Importance to the Church at such Times.

One thing, indeed, is said by St. Cyprian, about the Ordaining an opposite or Anti-Bishop against another, in a Church already fill'd, as when *Novatian* was set up at *Rome* against *Cornelius*, viz. That the *Anti-Bishop is no Bishop*: whence some conclude, that in reality he has not the Episcopal Powers conferr'd on him. \* Since after the first, there cannot be a second Bishop, says he, or two Bishops at once in the same Church, whosoever is Ordain'd after one is already in, who ought to preside alone, is not really a second Bishop, but no Bishop at all.

\* Et cum post primum, secundus esse non possit,

nemo quis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, factus est; non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est, Cyp. p. 55. p. 104. Ed. Ox.

And if such opposite or Anti-Bishops, receive or retain no Episcopal powers, 'tis sure they can confer none. And then, they are really neither Bishops, nor Priests, who are Ordained by them. And so, neither good Baptisms, at least according to the Opinion of the *Africanes*, or good Sacraments, which are of their administering. As \* St. Cyprian, and the *Africanes*, answerable to this nulling of the Ordinations, null the Baptisms made by Schismaticks. And then, on every Ordination of Anti-Bishops against them, there would be a new and indispensable

\* Vid. Cyp. Ep. ad Mag. num. Ep. 66. & ad Fubaia.

Epist. 73. & Concil. Carthag. de Bapt. Hæret. sub Cyp. ap. Cyp. pag. 229. & Epist. 75. g. 221. Ed. Ox



Necessity, for all the suffering and oppugned Bishops, to insist upon their own Powers and Claims, lest otherwise the Church should neither have Bishops nor Priests, nor the People any valid Sacraments and Church-Administrations.

For the Anti-Bishops receiving no Power or Authority for these Administrations, from their Ordainers, *their Ordination being null*, as he says: They can not be impowered, according to the Christian Rules of conferring Powers, without a *New Ordination*. The conferring of Orders, or of Ministerial Powers, is tyed, by our Lord himself, to a particular way, *viz. Imposition of hands, by impowered Persons*. In point of Orders, as of Baptism and the *Holy Eucharist*, the effect is affixed to the Rite of God's Institution. So that such Imposition of Hands, must give them. And if the former Imposition of Hands was null, in these Competitions they can not have these Powers of Orders, but by a New one. The receding of the former Bishop, or his ceasing to make any further Competition, were they already vested with these Powers by their own Ordination, would give the Anti-Bishops scope to exercise the same, and to do it alone, without any Rent or Division. But such Recession, is no Ordination, nor gives them the Episcopal Powers, if they had them not before. Yea, I add, nor would any *mere Allowance*, or *after-Ratification of Synods*, confer the same, as I conceive without such *New and Valid Imposition of hands*. When Men pretend they have already received these Spiritual Powers, mere Allowance admits of their Pretences. But I see not, how that alone should confer the Powers, if before they wanted them. Nor doth mere saying, *I allow thee to be a Bishop or a Priest*, without Words not only *pre-supposing*, but actually and from that time *conferring* Authority upon the Persons, seem enough to make them such: Which in my Apprehension, would make little of the *Power of Orders*; and would be a very lax, and cheap *Scheme* to make good the Usurpations, which either now, or at any time heretofore, have been made by Sectaries upon the *Priests Office*. Besides when they would empower Persons, even *Synods* themselves, or Bishops met there, can not confer Orders, as I say, more than Sacraments, in what way they please, but are bound up, as I apprehend, to *Divine Institutions*: and are not left to dispose of Ministerial or Episcopal Powers, by way of Sentence, or of Legislation, but only by *Imposition of Episcopal Hands*.

But however it might be, in the Opinion of St. Cyprian, and the *African Church* of that Age; the *Africans* carrying the effect of Schism farther than others, to the Nulling of their Baptisms and Ordinations. I think this *nulling of all Ordinations of Opposite or Anti-Bishops*, or *making them null in themselves*, is no *Catholic Doctrine*, nor did the Church tie it self thereto, or procede thereby in other Ages.

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Chap. 6. *tho' always Schismatical, yet not always Nullities.*

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The two most Famous Schisms, headed by opposite or Anti-Bishops in the Primitive Times, and consisting of Men, who retain'd the same Faith with the Catholick Church, were those of the *Novatians*, and *Donatists*. But the Ordinations of Anti-Bishops, were allow'd to make Men Bishops and Priests, in both these Cases.

One, was the *Schism of the Novatians*; which I think, presents us with the first setting up of Anti-Bishops in the Christian Church, against other Bishops keeping to the same Faith that was profess'd by themselves, and which is of the more Account in this Case, because of this St. Cy-

prian himself speaks, saying on Account of *Novatian*, when \* he set up as an Anti-Bishop against *Cornelius*, that the second Bishop is not really *secundus*, but *nullus*; not a second, but none at all. This Ordination of *Novatian* against *Cornelius*, intail'd a great Division and † *Competition of opposite Heads*, upon the Church. And the *Novatians*, as may be seen in *Sozomen*, could produce a Succession of Bishops, set up to head their Party against the Catholick Bishops, in the great Churches. But yet, excepting St. Cyprian and the *Africanes*, whom || St. Basil Notes to have strained the Effects of Schism too far, and to have out-shot the Mark in these Points; though these were Anti-Bishops, the Catholick Church did not look upon them, and the Priests Ordain'd by them, as meer Lay-men, or null their Ordinations, Baptisms, or other Church-ministrations. For, on their Return to the Catholick Church, the great Council of Nice Decrees, That \* such of them as should be found in the Clergy, should be in the same Order and Degree, as they had been Ordained to in their own Party. And, that \* having received imposition of Hands, or being Ordained before: So, according to their Degree, they should remain in the Rank of the Clergy. So that || in any City, or Town, if there were none else in Orders, they still should be the Bishops and Priests thereof. But

if at the Time of their Reconciliation, there should be a Catholick Bishop, or Priest, living there, that then the Catholick should have Preference, and the Novatian should be content with the Title of a Bishop, (without the Administration); or with a Presbyter, or Chorepiscopus's Place, that there may not be two Bishops in a City at once. Yea, and before such Return or Reconciliation to the Church, in great straitness or want of opportunities for Worship otherwise, the Catholicks resorted to their Churches,

\* Vid. Cyp. Ep. 44. p. 84, 86. & Ep. 55. p. 103, 104. Ed. Ox.

† Cum per omnes Provincias, & per Urbes singulas, ordinati sunt Episcopi, in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in pressura probati, in persecutione proscripti, ille [*Novatianus*] super eos creare alios Pseudo-Episcopos ausus est, Cyp. Ep. 55. p. 112. Ed. Ox.

|| Canon Ep. ad Amphilocho. Can. 1.

\* Οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ᾠκίῳ.

† Χε-ροβατεμένους αὐτοὺς, μένειν ὅπως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ.

|| \* Εἴτε ἐν κώμαις, εἴτε ἐν πόλεσι, αὐτοὶ μόνοι ἐπισκοποῦντο χειροτονηθέντες, &c. Conc. Nic. prim. Can. 8.

\*Hist. Ecc. to partake of Ministerial Offices from them, as \* Sozomen reports they 1.4 c. 20. did in the *Arian Persecution* under *Constantius*.

& Soc. 1.

2. c. 38.

† Optat.

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p. 40. 41.

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42, &c.

Ed. Par.

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The Other, was the Schism of the *Donatists*, † begun by Men professing the same Faith, by the setting up of *Majorinus* as an opposite or Anti-Bishop against *Cæcilian*, the true and Canonical Bishop of *Carthage*. This Schism set *Africk* in a Flame, and quickly multiplied into a Number of Anti-Bishops and their Abettors, to confront the regular Bishops of the *African Churches*. The Case of these Anti-Bishops, came about the Year of Christ 314. to be determined by the

Synod under *Melchisedes* at *Rome*. And there, to heal the Division, *Melchisedes* and the Synod, as *St. Austin* \* relates, declared their readiness to send Communicatory Letters to them; even to those, that appeared to be of *Majorinus's* Ordination. And decreed, that wheresoever, by reason of the Breach, there were two Bishops, he should be confirmed, who was first Ordained; and that for the other, another Church or Bishoprick should be provided. Which *St. Austin* applauds, as an innocent, and perfect, a provident, and pacifick Judgment. And afterwards, in the Council of *Carthage* under *Aurelius*, about the Year of Christ, 419. whereat *St. Austin* himself was present, concerning the Reception of the *Donatists* into the Church, 'tis decreed, That the *Donatist* Clergy, on their return to the Church, shall be received in their proper Honours, or Degrees of Orders; like as 'tis manifest, they have been received in *Africk*, in Times foregoing. And when any

\* *Beati Melchisedes ultima prolata est sententia—paratus Communicatorias Literas mittere, etiam iis, quos a Majorino ordinatos esse constaret: ita ut quibuscunque locis duo essent Episcopi, quos dissensio geminasset, eum confirmari vellet, qui fuisset ordinatus prior; alteri autem eorum, plebs alia regenda provideretur. O Virum Optimum! O Filium Christianæ Pacis, & Patrem Christianæ Plebis! —Quam innocens, quam integra, quam provida atque pacifica Sententia! August, Ep. Donatist. Episcopis Glorio, Eleuso, &c. que est Ep. 162. Tom. Op. 2 p. 732. Ed. Froben. Anno 1589.*

† *Ἐν ταῖς ἰδίας πρᾶξι ἀντὶ ἀναδεχθῆναι, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προλαβόντων χρόνοις, πρὶ τῆς αὐτῆς διατάξεως γενέσθαι φανερόν ἐστιν, Conc. Carth. Can. 71.*

ple, or Diocess, are converted from *Donatism*, if, at the time of their Conversion, they have *Donatist* Bishops, who come over with them, \* without Controversie, say they in another Canon, they may have them still.

Besides these famous Instances of opposite or Anti-Bishops, the same may likewise appear of others.

Can. 103.

\* *Flavianus*, from a Presbyter of that Church, was set up as an Anti-Bishop, and Ordained at *Antioch* against *Paulinus*, who had for a good while lived a Bishop of the Orthodox in that Church, and by Agreement with his Competitor *Meletius*, sworn to by *Flavianus* himself, was to hold it alone without any New Opposition, after *Meletius's* Death. This *Paulinus* moreover, after the setting up of *Flavianus* against him, was owned for the Bishop of *Antioch*, not only by the Bishops of *Egypt*, of *Arabia*, and *Cyprus*; but also by the Bishop of *Rome* and the Occidentals, who directed their Synodical Epistles to him, and none to *Flavianus*.

\* Soc.

Hist. Ecc.

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as is related by \* *Socrates*, and † *Sozomen*. But yet, *Flavianus's* Ordination was not judged null, the great *Chrysostom* himself having his *Priests Orders from him*, as may be learn'd from || *Paladius*; and, whilst he was one of his Presbyters, preaching such excellent *Homilies*, as we have of his to the *People of Antioch*. And without any pretence of Nullity in his Ordination, on account the Church was fill'd by *Paulinus* at the time thereof; after the death of \* *Paulinus*, and of his Successor *Euagrius*, without any New Ordination, he was admitted to Communion, both by the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Rome*, who had rejected him as a Schismatical Bishop, whilst *Paulinus* and *Euagrius* were alive.

\* Lib. 5. cap. 10. pag. 269.

† Lib. 7. cap. 11. pag. 717.

|| Vit. Chrysost. cap. 5. pag. 42.

\* Theod. Hist. l. 5. c. 23. & Sozom. l. 3. c. 3. & l. 7. c. 15. & Soc. Hist. l. 5. c. 15. & Niceph. l. 12. c. 24.

In the Succession of Bishops in the Church of Rome, there have been numerous Ordinations of opposite or Anti-bishops, which have made no fewer, than 27 Schisms. And some of them, of long continuance, that, by the Ordination of *Clemens 7th*, as an Anti-bishop against *Urban 6th*, being reckoned to have lasted Fifty Years. But neither \* these Anti-bishops, nor those Ordained by them, have been thought to want the Powers of Orders, nor to make any breach of the continued Series and Succession, of Apostolical Ordination, in that Church. Nor is it judged to do so, by our selves; we concluding our own to be a right and uninterrupted Succession of Orders, and not disowing it, in good part at least, to be derived from them.

\* Bishop Bramhal asserts the Ordination of an Anti-Pope to be as valid, as that of a true Pope. In his defence of the Protest. Ordination, p. Op. 1007.

In the *Arian Persecution*, of *Athanasius* and the *Orthodox Faith*, numerous were the unjust Deprivations of *Orthodox Bishops*; as of *Athanasius* at *Alexandria*, *Paulus* at *Constantinople*, *Liberius* at *Rome*, *Asclepas* at *Gaza*, *Lucius* at *Adrianople*, &c. These Bishops, being deposed for their adherence to the Truth, there was a Nullity in their deprivations, as I shewed || before; and notwithstanding those deprivations, they still fill'd those Churches, and were the true Bishops thereof; and accordingly \* were communicated with and received as such, by the *Western Synods*. And that, because the depositions were not really for other Faults, which were falsely fixed upon their Persons; but for their holding the *Nicene Faith*, as the \* *Sufferers* pleaded, and upon Examination, the † *Synods*, and the *Emperour* || *Constantine*, found. But on their depositions, Anti-bishops were set up against them, and obtruded on their

|| Part 2.

Chap. 4.

\* Soz. l.

3. c. 8.

& c. 11.

& 12.

\* Soz. l.

3. c. 11.

p. 511.

& Soc. l.

2. c. 20. p. 101. † Soz. l. 3. c. 12. & Julii Ep. ad Alexand. ap. Soc. l. 2. c. 23. || Soz. l. 3. c. 10. & Soc. l. 2. c. 21.

several



several Churches: as *Gregory*, and afterwards *George* were, against *Athanasius* at *Alexandria*; and *Eusebins* of *Nicomedia*, and after him *Macedonius*, were against *Paulus* at *Constantinople*; and *Felix*, against *Libertinus* at *Rome*; and *Quintianus*, against *Asclepas* at *Gaza*; not to mention others, in other places. And yet these Anti-bishops, being for the most part *Heretical*, as well as *Schismatical* Bishops, were not held to want the *Powers of Orders*, nor, if any of them left their *Heresies*, and returned to the *Faith* of the Church, was there any new *Ordination* required of them, or of those who had been *Ordained* by them.

Besides all this, instead of Anti-bishops being absolutely null, and in reality no Bishops; to heal, and compose the differences, of a miserably harassed and divided Church, on such Competitions it has been sometimes agreed, that, whichever of them were the Right, on the death of either, the Survivor should be owned, and the Church should have no other Bishop; and so all the Ordinations, and Episcopal Acts therein, should pass through his hands, and stand on his Authority, whilst he lived. Thus it was at *Antioch*, where the Church was divided into Two Parts, not for the cause of the Faith, which was common to them both; but of the Bishops, as *Socrates* \* says, some owning and adhering to *Meletius*, and others to *Paulinus*. For, to heal and close this lamentable Schism, it was agreed, which † *Sozomen* calls an admirable Counsel, and expedient, that, on the death of either, the survivor should hold the See alone for his Life, without being confronted and opposed, by the Ordination of any other Person. To prevent which, an Oath was exacted of all in that Church, who seemed to stand fairest for the Episcopate, and of *Flavianus* among the rest, that on the death of either of the Bishops, they would not be Ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*, whilst the other survived.

Which Agreement and Oath, being afterwards \* broke by *Flavianus*, when, on the death of *Meletius*, he was Ordained Bishop against *Paulinus*, cost him so much trouble and difficulty, as he found to get himself received for the Bishop thereof, both in *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Cyprus*, and at *Rome*, and among the *Western Bishops*, afterwards.

Thus, though Men in a Schism, did ill in Ordaining others: yet were not those Ordinations null in themselves; but really conferred the powers of Orders, which the Persons might exercise if the Church pleased. And when once the Persons were reconciled, and had satisfied the Church for their Schism, they have often been allow'd to officiate in Virtue of that Ordination, without being Ordained over again, by the greatest Councils, and through the early and later Ages of the Church.

And this shews, that their Ordinations were not null in themselves. For if such Persons, had never received any Spiritual powers in their Ordinations, they had none to exercise. And had the Church been of this persuasion, it would never have admitted them to exercise those

POWERS,

\* Hist.  
Eccl. l. 5.  
c. 9. p.  
266.

† L. 7. c.  
3. p. 706.  
& Soc. l.  
5. c. 5. p.  
261, 262.

\* Soz. l. 7.  
c. 11. p.  
717. &  
Soc. l. 5.  
c. 9. & 10.

Chap.

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POWERS, which it believed were never Conferred on them.

But though these Men, even after they had fallen into a Schism, or others who were Ordained therein, *had Orders*: yet was it in the power of the Church, to deny them the *Ministerial Exercise of their Orders*. Men must have the *Communion of the Church*, as well as *Orders*, before they can *exercise their Orders*, and minister to the Faithful in any Religious Assemblies. And though their Schism, doth not utterly devert, or exclude them from the Powers of Orders: yet it doth from the Communion of the Church, without which the Faithful, (who are not to seek, but to shun the Ministrations of Schismaticks, and Excommunicate persons) must not partake with them in any Exercise of Orders. And to this Communion, after once they have justly lost, and fallen from it, they are to be restored again in Degree more or less, and to be received to the Communion, either only of *Lay-members*, or else of Clergy, and to officiate according to their former Honors, as the Church pleaseth.

And as to this Admission and Allowance, *to exercise their Orders in its Communion*, the Church has acted variously, according as it saw cause. When Ordinations have been made against the Rules of Unity, though the Offenders thereby received Orders; yet, in care of these Rules, and to assert and keep up Discipline, it has at some times denied, as well as at other times granted its Communion to them, for their Exercise of the same. Where it judged that Rigor expedient, on their submission, it would receive them, to communicate as Lay-men. But, they should not be allow'd the Priviledges, nor permitted to act and officiate, as Bishops and Priests, in her Communion; nor should other Churches receive them, and joyn with them as such, till moreover satisfaction had been first given to those Rules of Unity in Ordinations, which had been broken in theirs.

And this it has done, not only in case of this great Rule, of *not Ordaining a Bishop into a full Church*: but also in case of other Rules, which are of less Account, than it is. Thus, of *Ordination into a Church already vacant*, if it is made *without the Metropolitan's consent*, the Council of Nice, and afterwards the Council of Antioch, \* Decree, That *the Church shall not receive such an one for a Bishop*. And of *Ordinations at large, without declaring the appropriate Church or Place, wherein the Person Ordained is to officiate*; the Council of Chalcedon decrees, † *that they shall be invalid*. Not to mention or insist also, on the Council of Nice's, rejecting of the || *Anti-bishops Ordained by the Schismatick Meletius*, Nic. 1. \* *till they were confirmed by a more holy imposition of hands*, as their Sy-

Antioch. Can. 19. † Ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, Concil. Chalced. Can. 6. || Τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῆς χειροτονήσαντας. \* -- Μυστικότερα χειροτονία βασιλευσθέντας, Epist. Synod. Conc. Nic. ap. Soc. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 9. p. 28. & Ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 9.

nodical Epistle says; because there was an incapacity more than ordinary for giving Orders, not only to Anti-bishops, but to any others, in his Case; which, because it may be of use in this Argument, I shall give an Account of.

\* Epiph.  
adv. Hæ-  
res. l. 2.  
Tom. 2.  
Hær. 68.  
c. 1.

*Meletius*, was Bishop of *Lycus* in *Egypt*, under the See of *Alexandria*; and, as *Epiphanius* \* relates, was next in dignity and power to Peter the Bishop of *Alexandria* himself, And he, with his Adherents, broke

\* — Ὅσοι καὶ ἰδὼν ἠύχοντο, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἰδὼν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, &c. *Epiph. ib. c. 3.*

† — Κατίστα κληρικὸς, ἐπισκόπος, &c. καὶ ὠκοδόμησι ἐκκλησίας ἰδίως, &c. *Ib. c. 3. vid. etiam Epist. Synod. Conc. Nic. 1.*

off from the Unity of the Church, and set up a Schism, separating from Peter the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and \* assembling for Prayers, and other Divine Offices by themselves; and † Ordaining opposite Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, for the erection of opposite Churches, in several places, as *Eleutheropolis*, *Gaza*, and *Alia*, as *Epiphanius* says. And these separate erections of Churches, and opposite Ordinations, he made, after he had been justly deposed by Peter in a Synod, (as we are assured by *Athanasius*, who had the best Opportunities to understand the Truth of these Matters, and the most cause to inquire into them, and also by *Socrates* afterwards.) And that too, \* among other Crimes, for his having fallen in the Persecution, to deny the Faith, and to sacrifice to Idols. Which Crimes, when any Bishop or Clergy, were once convicted of, by the great Rule of Church-Discipline, they were never afterwards to exercise

\* — Ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐλεγχθέντα παρονομίας καὶ δυσία, ἐν καινῇ συνόδῳ, καθελεῖν, *Athan Apol. ad Constant. pag. 777. Ed. Col. & Soc. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 6. pag. 14. & Theod. l. 1. c. 9.*

any Clerical Powers, or to officiate as Bishops and Clergy; but, upon their Reconciliation, were to be received only to Lay-Communion.

After such Falls, says *St. Cyprian*, 'tis in vain for any to seek to usurp the Episcopacy; since 'tis manifest such Men can neither preside in the Church of Christ, nor ought to offer Sacrifice to God. Chiefly, since it has been Decreed by *Cornelius*, and by Us, and by all the Bishops of the whole World,

\* — Decreverit ejusmodi homines ad Pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab Ordinatione autem Cleri, atque Sacerdotali honore prohiberi, *Cyp. Ep. 67. p. 174. Ed. Ox.*

† — Satis gratulans, si sibi, vel Laico communicare contingeret, *Id. Ep. 67. p. 173.*

|| — Sic tamen admissus est *Trophimus*, ut Laicus communicet; non, secundum quod ad te malignorum literæ pertulerunt, quasi locum Sacerdotis usurpet, *Cyp. Ep. 55. ad Antonian. p. 106. Ed. Ox.*

concerning them, that after such Offence, they may be \* admitted to Penance, and the Peace of the Church, but must stand removed from the Honour of the Priesthood and Clerical Orders. Accordingly, *Basilides* the Bishop, after he had denied and cursed Christ, was very thankful, as † he says, and looked upon it as a great Favour to him, that he could be received to communicate as a Lay-man. And likewise *Trophimus* the Bishop, when he had sacrificed to Idols, was || admitted, as he tells *Anto-*



sonianus, only to communicate as a Lay-man, not to usurp the Priests Office any more, as some malicious persons had inform'd him, which made Ansonianus complain of the same to Cyprian, as a Violation of this known Rule of Discipline. And in Vertue of this, being the known and received Rule of the Church, the Donatists sought to invalidate and overthrow the Ordination of *Cacilian*, against whom they had set up their Anti-bishop *Majorinus* at *Carthage*: \*pretending, that *Cacilians* Ordainers, particularly *Felix* of *Aptung*, had been *Traditors* in the preceding Persecution, or had fallen from Christ, and deliver'd up their Bibles to be burnt by their persecutors. Which Charge, had it been true, as it was false; would have been received and owned for a just Exception, on both sides. And the *Catholicks* would have rejected *Cacilian*, till he could make out some better Ordination; as well as the Council of *Nice* did these *Egyptian* Anti-bishops, that had no better Ordainer than *Meletius*, who stood guilty of the like Offence. But it was rejected in *Cacilians* Case, as being a malicious Forgery, the Donatists thereby impudently laying their own Crimes on others, hoping that would hinder men from inquiring after the same in themselves.

Indeed, as *Epiphanius* \* relates this Matter, *Meletius* made this Schism, and Ordained these Anti-bishops, not after he had sacrificed to Idols, and had been Synodically condemned by *Peter* for the same; but whilst he, as well as *Peter*, was a stout Confessor for the Faith against Idols, and in his Zeal for the Discipline of the Church, against *Peters* easiness in admitting the *Lapsers*, who sought to them, whilst they were together in Prison, for the peace of the Church. But *Athanasius*, who was nearer to this Transaction, and who, after some others, was chosen to succeed *Peter* in the same Church, is more like to understand the Truth of this Affair, than *Epiphanius* was. Whom

\* *Baronius*, and † *Petavins* look upon as mislead into this account, by some false Acts or Histories of the *Meletians*, who dealt injuriously with *Peter* and the *Catholicks* in *Egypt*, like

as the *Donatists* did with *Cacilian* and those *Catholicks* in *Africk*; on whom they labour'd to fix the Crime of being *Traditors*, whereof the *Catholicks* were free, but they themselves were notoriously guilty.

Thus, though their Orders were valid in themselves, without which they could have been received at no time; yet have they not always availed to Claim and obtain the Churches Communion, without which the persons could not be received by the Faithful to exercise the same. And this has been, when the Church saw fit and expedient, to insist upon the Rules of Unity in Ordinations, and more vigorously to assert Ecclesiastical Law and Discipline.

And this, it might assert, or relax, as it saw Cause. Ecclesiastical

\* Optat. de Schif. Donat. l. 1. p. 41. 42. Ed. Par. Alb.

\* Epiph. adv. Hær. Hær. 68. c. 2. g.

\* Baron. An. Tom. 3. p. 11, 12, 13. ad An. 306. † Petav. Animadv. in Epiphan. ad Hær. 68.



Law and Discipline, is not a Rule of indispensable Obligation to the Church; but such as it may, and oft-times has receded from, on great reason and necessity. What Rules the Church makes, the Church may alter and go off from in particular Cases, as need shall require, and as may best serve those ends for which it made them.

Accordingly, Rules of Discipline, have not been one and the same in all Ages. For, to omit others, the ancient

\* Can. 4. Conc. Nic. primi, & Can. 13. Conc. Carthag.

† Can. Ap. 14. & Conc. Nic. Can. 15. & Conc. Antioch. Can. 21.

‖ Can. 11.

\* Conc. Chalced. Can. 1.

† Conc. in Trullo Can. 2.

‖ Can. Ap. 6. & 81. & 83. & Conc. Constant. 1 & 2 Dist. Can. 11.

Councils asserted the \* free Election of Bishops, (nominated here by the Prince,) to the Bishops of the Province: And forbid the † Translation of Bishops, from poorer to richer Sees: And the Attendance of Bishops, about Courts of Princes, the Council of ‖ Antioch, confirmed afterwards at \* Chalcedon, and in † Trullo, forbidding them to go to the Emperor, without the approbation and Letters of the Metropolitane. And ‖ excluded both Bishops and Clergy, from intermeddling, and incumbering themselves, with Secular Trusts and

Administrations. All which are otherwise in these latter Ages.

And such Rules of Discipline, as have been observed more strictly, have not had one equal and uniform Tenor of Observation: but have been sometimes remitted, and sometimes exacted and stood upon, as the Church was driven thereto by prudential Reason. Thus it has been with the Canons or Rules of Discipline, about Ordinations. Which, as the Church has sometimes insisted on, as I noted, to vacate the Ordinations, which any Bishops made against them; I mean, to debar the Persons its Communion, without which, whatever powers of Orders they had received, they could not be received in any Assemblies of the Faithful, to exercise the same: So were they at other times relaxed and over-ruled by the necessities of the Church, and the Persons, on their reconciliation, admitted to officiate in vertue of such Orders, as I think may abundantly appear by the fore-cited instances. And this very Reason is given for it, by the African Fathers in the Synod of Carthage, when they admit of the Ordinations of the Donatists, which the Transmarine or Italian Synod had rejected: telling Pope Anastasius, that this Reception of them to the same Orders, was for the \* great necessity of Africa, — for a † better provision for Catholick Unity, and for ‖ the benefit and peace of the Church.

\* Τὴν Ἀ-  
φρικαν  
ἐκκλησίαν  
ἐν ἑνότητι  
ἔσθαι κα-  
τασκευασμένην.

‖ Διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἑνότητι καὶ χρησιμότητι, Conc. Carth. Can. 71.

These instances and proofs, I think may be sufficient to shew, that Anti-bishops, and others of their Ordination, have Orders; though, being in a Schism, the Faithful ought not to joyn with them in their

use thereof, using their authority. But it doth not follow, I say, that we are to Schismatize with Bishops. The Doctrine that \* by Schism which authority authorized those Catholick

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use thereof. Their Schism, makes them Sinners in receiving, and in using their Orders, and shuts out others from communicating therewith. But it doth not utterly destroy, and null their Orders; nor must it be said, I conceive, that by such sinful Ordination they receive nothing, or, that whatever they had formerly received, they lose by falling into Schism, so as that thenceforward they have no Orders, nor are Bishops or Priests at all.

The Donatists indeed, as St. Austin reports, asserted this, and taught, that \* by breaking off from the Church, though men did not lose the Baptism which they had received before, yet they lost their Orders, or the Authority and Power of Baptizing. And on pretence thereof, they re-baptized those, who, since the Breach, had been baptized by any of the Catholick Clergy,

fit amitti, & Sacramentum ordinati possit amitti: quoniam dicunt, recedens ab Ecclesia Baptismum non amittit, jus dandi tamen amittit, *August. cont. Ep. Parmen. l. 2. c. 13. Tom. Op. 7.*

As to which, he owns, that whilst they continue in their Schism, they sin in exercising their Orders. \* *They do not do right, saith he, in giving Baptism to others, whilst they themselves are broken off from the Church.* — † *And it is to their own destruction, so long as they have not the Charity of Union.* — || *The having Baptism themselves, and conferring it on others, are both pernicious, whilst they continue out of the Bond of Peace.* quidem ad perniciem suam, quamdiu Charitatem non habent Unitatis || — *Questio nulla est, quin perniciose habeant, pernicioseque tradant extra vinculum Pacis.*

But, though they ought not to use these powers, till they have amended their Schism: yet, as he says, they have them if they will use them, and the Acts of Orders are not Nullities, which are done by them. \* *There is no Question now to be made, saith he, and it has been a thing discussed, considered, and established through the whole World, that they, who are broken off from the Unity of the Church, do for all that retain, both their Baptism, and their Orders or Power of Baptizing.* † — *When correcting the Error of their Schism, they are received to the Unity and Peace of the Church; if it seem needful, or expedient to have them bear their former Offices, their Prelates are not to be Ordain'd again, but as their former Baptism, so their former Or-*

integra: quia in Præfatione fuerit Vitium, quod in Unitatis pace correctum est; non in Sacramentis, quæ ubicunque sunt, ipsa vera sunt.

\* Ipsi explicant quomodo Sacramentum baptizati non possunt

\* Non recte datur, qui ab Unitate discedit.

† — Utrumque

\* De iis, qui ab Ecclesie Unitate separati sunt, nulla jam quaestio est, quin & habeant, & dare possint, & quin perniciose habeant, pernicioseque tradant extra vinculum Pacis. Hoc enim jam in ipsa totius Orbis Unitate discussum, consideratum, perfectum atque firmatum est.

† Siquando ex ipsa parte venientes etiam præpositi, pro bono pacis correcto Schismatis errore suscepti sunt; & si visum est opus esse, ut eadem Officia gererent quæ gerebant, non sunt rursus ordinandi, sed sicut Baptisma in iis, ita Ordinatio manet

dination remains intire in them. For their Fault lay in their Schism, which is corrected by their being settled anew in the peace of Unity: not in the

boly institutions, either of Baptism or Orders, which wheresoever they are really, are of validity.

\* — Et cum expedire hoc videatur Ecclesie, ut præpositi eorum venientes ad Catholicam Societatem, honores suos ibi non administrent: non eis tamen ipsa Ordinationis Sacramenta detrahuntur, sed manent super eos. Ideoque non eis in populo manus imponitur, ne non homini, sed ipsi Sacramento fiat injuria. Aug. lb. l. 2. c. 13. cont. Ep. Parmen.

\* — Yea, and when on such reception to the Communion of the Church, it seems expedient not to admit them, to the administration of their former Orders: yet even there, adds he, is not the power of Orders withdrawn from them, but remains still lodged in them. Which also may appear from hence, because, on their Reconciliation, they are not made to stand among the Penitents, as other Offenders among the people are, and there to receive

penance, and absolution, by imposition of hands: Which is omitted towards them, not because it would be an injury to their persons, (Schism being as Criminal, if not more Criminal in them, than it is in others;) but because it would be an injury to their Orders, which Orders therefore must be still inherent in them at that time to give them that Exemption. For no \* person in Holy Orders, as Bishops, Priests and Deacons, was lyable, or ever made to do penance, by the ancient Rules and Discipline of the Church.

\*. Con-  
firma-  
tum est,  
ut si  
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Presbyteri, vel Diaconi, in aliqua graviore culpa convicti fuerint, qua eos a ministerio necesse fuerit removeri; non eis manus tanquam Pœnitentibus, vel tanquam Fidelibus Laicis imponatur, Conc. Carth. 5. Can. 11. Tom. 1. Concil. p. 734. Ed. Bin.

\* Conc. Carth. sub Cypr. Suffraganeis 4. 16. 19. 48. 65. 76. ap. Cyp

And before them, \* St. Cyprian and the Africanus of his Age, together with Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocea, carried the effect of Schism

\* Ib. suffrag. 4. so far, as quite to set aside all Ministerial Acts of Schismatics. And on that Account, they equally null'd, both their \* Ordinations, and their & Ep. ad Baptisms. The powers of Baptizing, and Ordaining, and of doing other Ministerial Acts, are powers of the Holy Ghost. And by Schism, in their Account, the † Schismatics fell from the Grace of the Holy Ghost; and, † "Οι δὲ ἀπορρέοντες, either in Baptism, or Ordination, being thenceforward, as to these powers, ἀλλοιοί μὲν Lay-men, as St. Basil recites their Opinion.

† "Οι δὲ ἀπορρέοντες, ὅτι τὸ βαπτίζεν, ὅτι τὸ χειροτονεῖν εἶχαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐκ τῆς συνδυασμένης χάριτος πνεύματος ἁγίου ἰσχύος παρέχειν, ἥς αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπτόμενοι, St. Basil. Canon. Ep. ad Amphiloch. Can. 1. vid. & Ep. Firmil. ap. Cyp. Ep. 75. p. 221. Ed. Ox.

But this, St. Basil thinks was a straining things too far; and others of Asia, as he \* says, were altogether of another Opinion: So, in his Canonical Epistle, which was received into the Code of the Universal Church

Chap. Church and Bap in a Sc Yea, Acts an regard in their not to l And th keep up in the c any oth break C \* We ju Commun St. Cyp thage, And ag to Steph jelling, tion of ing them to Lay- of their mon, a ments, t Commun Bond of held in Persons to them other B whether thage an whereof Churches. municat ther the munion who are dination which a Priviled of Chris



Chap. 6. *tho' always Schismatical, yet not always Nullities.*

81

Church by the \* *sixth Council in Trullo*, he admits those Ministerial Acts \* *Can. 2.* and Baptisms, when done by Bishops, or by others of their Ordination, in a Schism.

Yea, and even *Cyprian* and those *Africanes*, who were for nulling these Acts and Baptisms of Schismaticks, seem to have been for this only in regard to their own Communion, or by denying Communion to them in their own Churches, in way of asserting Discipline and Canons; but not to have thought them naturally, and essentially null in themselves. And this, I think, is plain from hence. Because, though, in care to keep up Discipline, they null'd these Acts as to their own Communion, in the case of any of their own Members: Yet they declare, that if any other Churches admit them, they will not break Communion with them, on account thereof. \* We judge none, nor will exclude any from our Communion, who shall be of another Opinion, says St. Cyprian at the Head of the Council of *Carthage*, when they made this Determination. And again, in another Council, when they writ to *Stephen of Rome* to concur with them, in rejecting, \* not only the Baptism, but the Ordination of Men in Heresie or Schism, and in receiving them, when they returned to the Church, only to Lay-communion: They declare, that || if any of their Brethren, who have imbibed another Opinion, are still for sticking to their former Sentiments, they are not forcing any, nor for breaking Communion with those, who are for preserving that Bond of Concord and Peace, which ought to be upheld in the College of Bishops. So that if any Persons of such Baptism, or Ordination, came to them with Communicatory Letters from any other Bishops; they would admit them to all Acts, whether of Lay, or Clerical Communion, in *Carthage* and *Africk*, which they had been admitted to at home, the denial whereof, as I shewed \* before, had been to break Communion with other Churches, which they disclaim. And if they would admit them to communicate thus with them in their Churches, they could not think, either their Baptisms or Ordinations, null in themselves. For the Communion professed in the Creed, is a Communion of Saints, or Christians, who are listed or made Christians, by Baptism; and Clergy-men, by Ordination: and there is no admission of Un-baptized Persons, to those Acts which are proper to the Faithful; or of Un-ordained Persons, to those Privileges and Functions which are peculiar to the Clergy, in the Church of Christ.

But

\* *Neminem judicantes, aut a pure Communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes. Præloqu St. Cyp. in Synod. Carthag. de Rebapt. Hæret. ap. Cyp. p. 229. & Cyp. ad Jubianum Ep. 73. p. 210. Ed. Ox.*

\* *Si qui Presbyteri, aut Diaconi — postmodum Perfidi ac Rebeller contra Ecclesiam steterint — & contra Altare unum — Sacrificia foris — offerre conati sunt; eos quoque hac conditione recipi cum revertuntur, ut communicent Laici, & si habeant quod admittantur ad Pacem, qui Hostes Pacis extiterint, &c. Cyp. & ceteri Stephano Fratri, Ep. 72. p. 197.*

|| *Scimus quosdam quod semel imbibierint nolle deponere, — sed salvo inter Collegas pacis & concordie vinculo, — Qua in re nec nos vni cuiquam facimus aut Legem damus, Ib. p. 197, 198.*

\* *Ch 2. Part 3.*



\* Quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, Ec. Cyr. Epist. 55.

pag. 104.

\* Ἰνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾖεν, Conc. Nic. primi Can. 8.

But against all this it may be Objected, that there is to be but one Bishop at once in a Church, as \* St. Cyprian alledges, and as the great Council of Nice afterwards \* provides: and that the Bishop in the Church, is the Principle of Unity.

And that the admission of the Ordination of Anti-bishops, will be against the Nature of the *Spiritual Monarchy*, the Nature of Monarchy not admitting of two at once. And, as the Throne can hold but one, so the Electors, where the Monarchy goes by Election, can chuse but one: who being once chosen, they can elect no more, nor can confer the same powers on any other, till the Throne becomes vacant again.

But as to the Bishops being the principle of Unity, that respects the Peoples Duty, of holding Communion with him; his being the Principle of Unity to the Church, binding the Church to depend on him, and incorporate under him, and to communicate with him. And as to this, the Members, who are already subject to a rightful Bishop, are not to admit of a second Bishop. That is, if such an one is set up, they are not to unite themselves to him, and turn over to his Communion, as \* Part 3. I think may sufficiently appear, from what I have \* above discoursed Chap. 1. on that Point; but are to stand off from him, as from one that makes a Schism. And thus every Church as a Spiritual Monarchy, is not to be possessed by two at once, since all must adhere to one: And though the second, who is set up in opposition, be a Bishop, yet he is not their Bishop, nor may any of them break off from their rightful Head, to joyn in his Communion.

But though the Anti-bishop in any Church, can not oblige or hold all the Members thereof to himself, as the principle of Unity; yet may he have all, that is of the essence of Episcopacy. For, to be an Head of Union in the Church, is not of the essence of a Bishop. It may be separate from the Episcopal powers; as it is, in all Bishops falling into Heresie, or Schism. For they are no longer Heads of Union, since none are \* bound to follow them, but all are to break Communion with them. But yet they are Bishops still, and do not thereby fall from the powers of Ordination, nor, on their Re-union to the Church, need to be Ordained again.

'Tis true, one main use of Episcopacy, is to be a means of Unity. But yet, it is not so for this use, as to be null, or cease, when it misses, or fails thereof. Even as Baptism, or the Eucharist, are for Unity: \* We being all baptized into one Body; and being † one Body, as partaking all of one Bread, as the Apostle says. But yet, they do not always cease, or fail of their effects, when administred in breach thereof: and Baptism, as was held by the ancient Church, and as we all hold now, is still valid, though performed by Schismatics.

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\* 1 Cor.

12, 13.

† 1 Cor.

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When they miss of this, they have other uses. As the Sacraments, besides keeping Unity among the Members, enter and ratify the Covenant of Grace. And Episcopacy, besides the use, of keeping the Church one and unbroken is for administration of the Word, of Prayers, and Sacraments, and for Ordaining others to do the same. And though all these ought to be exercised in, the Unity of the Church, and 'tis a great Sin when 'tis otherwise: yet such sinful Exercises, are no Nullities, as if the Persons had no powers, or as if the Administrations had no effect at all.

In the *State-Monarchy*, I grant, that the *Regal Powers*, and this use of their being a *principle of State-Unity*, are more closely and constantly connected. And that, as he, who has the Regal Powers, is the principle of *State-Unity*: so he, who is no such principle, and to whom the People are not bound to unite, has truly no Regal Authority or Powers. And in *Elective Kingdoms*, if, whilst the Throne is full, the Electors, (whose power of choosing is only in Vacancies,) pretend to choose another; they really confer no Regal power, nor make a King, but an Usurper. This is, because secular powers, are more limited to Territories and Precincts; and because no King, can be a King at large, but must only be a King, of such or such a Place, or Countries.

But in the *Spiritual Monarchy* 'tis otherwise. For the Collation, and Reception of the Episcopal Powers, is not with precise Limitation to such a particular place or Diocese; but indefinite, or with respect to the Church at large. Or expressed, as it is in our *Form of Ordination*, by receiving of the Holy Ghost, for the Office of a Bishop, for the Church of God. Which makes any person, not a meer Local, but a Catholick Bishop; or one vested with Episcopal powers, and under no want of inherent Authority to exercise Episcopal Acts, (if, as a Conscientious Lover of Unity, he be not otherwise restrained by Rules of maintaining Unity and Order,) in any part of the World. The first Bishops, being chosen from among the first Converts, were first vested with powers; and then, by gathering more Proselytes, were to get Subjects, and enlarge Territories, being *Ordain'd Bishops of those*, \* who should afterwards believe, as St. Clement says. And the Holy Apostles, who stood vested with all the Episcopal powers, were not tyed to any place, but, by Christs Commission, were left equally, and indefinitely, to the whole Church. And till the great Council of Chalcedon, which was held about the Year of Christ 451. were the *Periodontai* or *Circumitors*; so called, as || Zonaras observes, because they were to go about hither and thither, to keep the Faithful in their Duty, not having any fixt Place or Chair of their own. At the Synod of Laodicea, about the Year of Christ

\* T. v. med. li. tom. xi. Clem. Ro. l. p. 1. a. l. Cor. p. 89 Ed. Ox. || παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἀποστολὰς καὶ ἐπισκοπὰς ἀποστέλλειν ἐν παντί, Zon. in Can. 57. Concil.

παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀποστολὰς καὶ ἐπισκοπὰς ἀποστέλλειν ἐν παντί, Zon. in Can. 57. Concil. Laod.

\* Vid. 365. 'tis \* left to these *Periodontai*, to supply the want of *First Bishops*, in those places and *Countries*, that were not thought considerable enough to have a Bishop fixed among them. And afterwards, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, mention is again made of them. As of one || *Basil* & *Zonar. lentius*, whom, being a scandalous *Liver*, *Ibas* is accused in the Council, in Can. to have Ordained *Presbyter* and *Periodontes*. And of one † *Alexander* who, in the same Council, is styled the most Reverend *Presbyter*, and

|| Βαλέν-  
πόν τινα *Periodontes*.  
~ ἐχειρο-  
τόνησε πρεσβύτερον καὶ περιόδοντον, Concil. Chalced. Part 2. Act. 10. p. 382. Tom. 3. Concil. Ed. Bin. † Λεγάτω ὁ παρὼν ἐλάβεσθαι πρεσβύτερον καὶ περιόδοντον Ἀλέξανδρον, Ibid. Part 2. Act. 4. p. 323.

\* *Μη-  
δυναλε-  
λυμένως  
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τε διάκονον, μήτε, &c. ἐν μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως, ἢ καμίας, ἢ μαρτυρίᾳ, ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, ὃ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττοιο*, Conc. Chalced. Can. 6. † Ἀκυρον ἔχει τὴν τοιαύτην χειρο-  
τοσίαν, lb. || Concil. Lat. 3. c. 5. & Conc. Londin. Anno Dom. 1200. ap. Bin. Tom. 7. Conc. p. 783. & Canon. Eccles. Anglic. Can. 33.

But these Local Limitations, or Appropriations of place in giving Orders, come not in, for the necessity and essence of Ordination. And therefore some are excepted therein, and allowed still to be Ordain'd without them; whose Ordinations are notwithstanding as valid, as theirs who are Ordain'd with them. Thus, *Fellows*, and *Chaplains* of *Colleges*; and *Masters of Arts*, who have been able to live five years of themselves in the *Universities*, &c. are excepted by our \* own Canon: and || they, who have *Patrimony*, and *Provision* of *Maintenance* of their own other ways, are excepted by the Canon of the Council of *Lateran*. And if such Limitation of place, were of the essence of Ordination; they could be but once placed, as they are once Ordain'd, and not remove from place to place without a new Ordination. But they were brought in, for a prudent provision, to keep the Clergy from being burthensome; or to prevent more entering into Orders, than are requisite for the Churches Needs, or can live upon its maintenance, as appears by the *Canons* themselves.

\* Can. 33. Eccl. Anglic.  
|| Nisi forte talis, qui Ordinatur, extiterit, qui de sua, vel Paterna Hereditate, subsidium vitæ possit habere, Concil. Lat. 3. cap. 5. p. 658. Tom. 7. Concil. Ed. Bin. Paris. 1636.

Moreover, *Bishops*, when for this purpose, and for maintenance of *Unity* and *Order*, they are tyed up to places in their Administrations; besides,

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besides the local relation, of *Bishops of such a place*, who are to have a more special regard for their own proper Division: they stand also, as I have \*already shewed, under another relation, of *Catholik Bishops*, \* Part 3. or of *Bishops of the Church at large*, who, as there is need of it, and c. 4. as occasion is offered, are to have a general inspection and regard too for all the rest. \* *The collection of all Churches*, as St. Cyprian says, is but one *Episcopate*; and those many People, who are fed, and inspected by so many Pastors, make all but one Flock, Whereof particular Dividends are so intrusted to every single Bishop, as to make them stand obliged and accountable, not only for their own *rata pars*, that is their proper share or division; but, as Partners in a Bond, each of them *pro solido*, i. e. for the whole sum.

\* *Eti Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen Gregem pascimus*, Cyp. Ep 68. p. 178. *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, De Unitate Eccles. p. 180. Ed. Ox.

These local Limitations, and Appropriations of Precincts, to have every Bishop the Bishop of some place, and to have but one Bishop at a time in a City or Place, are great and necessary Rules, 'tis true, of Order and Unity. And all the Pastoral Powers, are most highly served by having them to direct their Exercise; and would be mightily disturbed, and hindered of their end, by the want thereof: So that they are conscientiously, and carefully to be observed, and maintain'd in the Church.

But their Necessity, is for Order and Unity, not for the Being of *Episcopacy*. And when there are two Bishops, heading separate Churches at once in a place; that duplicity, must only prove one to be a Schismatick; but doth not prove him, as I think may sufficiently appear from what has been here discoursed, to be no Bishop. Nay, while this separation of Churches could be without the Guilt of Schism, as it was in the first standing off of the Jews from the Gentile Converts, and as the blessed Apostles themselves allow'd it should be for a time, till the Jews could be brought to see the Lawfulness of communicating with Gentiles, which was contrary to all their former received Opinions: I say, whilst such separation was to be tolerated without imputation of Schism, to suit the necessity of the Church during their prejudices, 'tis very likely there were two Bishops set up in the same place by the Holy Apostles themselves. Thus, in the City of Rome, 'tis probable, that at first there were at once two Churches, one of Jews, and the other of Gentiles, gather'd there by the two Great Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. Epiphanius says of both these Apostles, that at Rome, they were \* both the first Apostles, and the first Bishops. And sets down the Bishops in the first Succession of that Church, double. Of the Roman Bishops, this, † says he, is the succession, Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, †

\* Πρωτοι ὁ Αποστολοι αὐτοι καὶ ἐπισκοποι Epiph. Hæc. 27. Sect. 6.

M

\* Clement,



\* Here *Clemens* is the first who is set single, under whom, I suppose, was the Union of both Churches; who, on this score, is made the first Bishop in some reckonings, viz. as being the first over both Churches so united.

ed intermixed; *Epiphanius* noting it as a thing extraordinary and unusual in the Church of

† A. 6. 9.

\* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 16. & Niceph. Cal. l. 2. c. 42. & c. 35.

|| Οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἡ Αλεξάνδρεια διὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἔχεν, ὥς δι' ἄλλαι πόλεις, Epiph. Hær. 68. Nū. 6.

*Bishops in the same City at once*, strikes at, is the Duty of Church-Unity. But where it could be tolerated without imputation of Schism, and was not destructive of the required Unity, (as it was not in those first beginnings of the Church, when God was pleased for a time to tolerate the former separation between Jews and Gentiles, till the Jews had out-grown their Prejudices against communion with Gentiles,) it was not destructive of, or inconsistent with the Being of Episcopacy.

Thus, is not the opposite or *Anti-bishops Ordination*, but only his Communion excluded, by having but one Bishop in a Church at a time, and by the rightful Bishops being the Principle of Church-Union. Because another is their rightful Bishop, he can not be the Bishop of that place or Diocese, since they can not have two Bishops at once. And because that other is their principle of Union, they are not to communicate with him, as I have shewn at large in the preceding Chapters. But though he is not *their Bishop*, nor is to have the communion of the Faithful by reason of his Schism; yet he may be a Bishop, and have the powers of Orders, by imposition of Episcopal Hands in his own Ordination. So that among such *Anti-bishops* and their adherents, we are to lament the loss of Unity and Church-communion: but not of all Orders and Baptisms, as if, by such Schism, they were rendered utterly incapable, either to baptize or ordain, and so were like to have neither Priesthood nor Christianity left among them.

\* *Clemens, Eusebius, Alexander, Xystus*, and so on. And this is thought to be the best Reconciliation of those various accounts, of the first Successors to the Holy Apostles, in that Church. And the like may reasonably be thought of other Churches, where Jews and Gentiles lived intermixed; *Epiphanius* noting it as a thing extraordinary and unusual in the Church of Alexandria, (which was a place much inhabited and resorted to by the Jews, and where the first Church was planted by St. Mark, who was made Bishop thereof by St. Peter the Apostle of the Jews,) || that it had never at any time had two Bishops in the same City at once, like other Cities. So that, what the having of two

# CHAP. VII.

*Of the Excuseableness of the Peoples receiving Ministerial Offices from Men in a Schism, rather than live without any at all.*

**B**UT under such Divisions, the rightful Bishops and Clergy, supposing the sufferers to be in the right, may be too few to give general opportunities, for all those good Christians who would keep to them, to communicate in Ministerial Offices. And in vast numbers of places, for the *People* to shun communion with the Clergy adhering to the Anti-bishops, or taking part with them, will be to have no communion at all in any Ministerial Offices, since they can not have them from any others. I do not say it will be so with the Clergy themselves, whose part and place being to afford Ministerial Offices, they need not want them unless they please: and if they can have any, though but *one* or *two* to joyn with them therein, they may minister in an *Holy Assembly*, who have *Christ in the midst of them*, as \* he him-  
 self says. But though they will not fall under this necessity, nor have such ground to plead the favour of this Case; yet the People often may. And supposing the Schism, what is to be done by the People in this case? If they are careful to shun these Ministerial Offices from the hands of Schismatics, *in places where they can have them from others*; may they not, without imputation of overlooking the criminalness of Schism, *have recourse to them as a Make-shift*, especially if they profess and give out that they do it only on that account, *where they can have none else, or rather than live without any at all?*

\* Matth.  
18. 20.

I hope, \* they may, and that the necessity of having publick Worship and Ministerial Offices, will excuse the faultiness and obliquity of having it at the hands of one communicating in a Schism, or out of the Unity of the Church.

\* See  
Dr Ham-  
mond's  
Pract.  
Catech.  
l. 2. Sect.  
1. on the  
Beatitudes  
of Meek-  
ness.

To perswade this, I observe, that *Schism is breaking the one Body into Parties, or making sedition in the Church*. And the spirit of Schism, or the malignity of having to do with a Sedition or Party, is as it is an owning or espousal thereof, and that in opposition to the true Body. But when in mere necessity, men, who live among them, have to do with such, and profess they take up with them only because they are in want of others, whom, as they ought, so they gladly would associate and joyn with; such profess'd serving of their own necessity, and disapproving of the others Party, is not to own and espouse them. And much less is it to take their part, and stand by them against the true

body: since this coming near them at all, is only for want thereof; and before they appear to oppose the right, they should be put into the opportunity of siding, and closeing with it. So that where they can have no assemblies for right communion, the making a shift with the other for that time, speaks no opposition against them.

I grant, to stand quite off from them, and to have no communion or correspondence with them in their seperate ways, is the clearest disclaiming of any Schism, or Sedition. And this, as it may be payd, so is more reasonably exacted, under the settlement of a right Government. But under others, when the disobedient have got all into their hands, and make the number in all places, this way of disclaiming, by *refusing all communion and correspondence*, admits of some relaxation and abatements. It doth so plainly in the *Civil State*, where some dealings and correspondence of the dutiful and well affected with the Rebels, which would have been sentenced as Rebellion in better times, will not then be reputed rebellious. And under like prevalence of Schisms, which leave no opportunities of communicating with any else, I think such abatements may also find place in the Church too. Especially, considering the necessity of *publick communion* and *Church assemblies*, the great defectiveness and scarcities whereof had almost dropped and lost Religion in the *Patriarchal Age*. And also considering the necessity, which our Religion in particular lays upon *Communion*, the *Communion of Saints* being one of the things professed in the *Creed*; which may make it more reasonable to presume such abatements in favour thereof, when there is no opportunity of Ministerial Offices by any others, to communicate with.

But that the necessity of having some Ministerial communion, will be an excuse in such case for the faultiness of having this at the hands of one ministering in a Schism, when it can not be had from others; seems reasonable to me, from considering the Nature and Importance of things; and the abatements God himself has been willing to make on such necessity, with other like Duties; and I think it was so held and practised by the Church and People of God, when they could have no Ministerial Offices but from Schismatics, and also to give Relief in some other compassionate cases about communion, which have only like plea for abatements, as this case has.

1. As to the Nature and Importance of the things themselves, publick worship, or communion in Ministerial Offices, is a duty more of natural and essential Obligation; to pay such publick worship, being naturally incumbent on all men. And withal, it is so important in it self. For Communion in Ministerial Offices, or in common and publick Worship, must both declare, or testifie the sence, which Mankind have of their common or publick Lord; and also sustain, or bear it up in the World. It is the

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way for God, who most justly claims and expects the worship and service of all his reasonable Creatures, not to be left without Witness, but even in a degenerate and rebellious World, to have some always visibly standing by him, and paying him his due honour and homage. It is also the way for him, to preserve alive a sense thereof among all his other Subjects and Children, whom he, as a common Lord and Father, is concerned continually to make acquainted therewith, and to try with the power and influences thereof.

For by this means, he sets forth his worship and truths, as a *Light*, to shine out to all that are in darkness; and sets this *light upon a candlestick*, or collects the bearers thereof into a body or *City*; and places this *City upon an Hill*, as our Saviour \* says, to make it conspicuous, and that it may force it self upon the observation of all, who are at a distance. And if any are willing, to pay this Almighty Lord, his due honour, and homage; it will train them up dayly, in the knowledge, and observance thereof. If they are unwilling, and averse thereto; it will serve to make them willing by degrees. For such dayly representation, of God's publick worship and homage before their eyes, will be a dayly reproof of their ungodly Violations, or Neglects thereof; and make them uneasie therein, and by degrees awaken, and stir up those natural and innate seeds of Truth and Piety, which God has planted in all mens Souls, though, under such Neglects or irreligious ways, they lye dormant, and seems as if they were buried, or almost quite lost, in theirs. Or, if after all, they shall obstinately shut their eyes against this Light so shining out upon them, and persist in their wickedness and irreligion; it will clear the Justice of an Injured God, when he comes to punish them for the same, and leave them wholly without excuse.

\* Mat. 5.  
14, 15, 16.

Yea, this publick worship is necessary, at least as to a great part of Men, or as to the keeping them up in any considerable Numbers, to keep up Religion and Devotion, not only among others, but in their own breasts. For Devotion is to be upheld and improved in our Spirits, by exercise: which, as they have Provisions for, and are call'd to; so all devout People are careful to comply withal, on the constant returns of these opportunities. But though we need to use this exercise to keep it on, we need use none at all to wear it off our minds, which by meer neglect thereof, will sink into forgetfulness of what is good, and into sloth and indevotion, of themselves. Their progress therein, is like that of heavy Weights up hill, which need a constant hand to raise and carry them on, but, when that is once off, have enough in their own Weight to make them roul down again. And this, all may find by their own experience, mens pious affection, as any heedful Observer will soon perceive, unavoidably decaying, and going back for



back for want thereof. Which makes devout minds, justly to dread the want of such opportunities for Ministerial Offices, as a starving of their Religious affections. And for this Reason, among others, St. Paul is earnest in pressing attendance on *Religious Assemblies*, and caution them against *forsaking* the same, because that would endanger the loss of Religion it self. *Not forsaking the assembling of your selves together, as the manner of some is, faith he to the persecuted Hebrews, when he labours, to fix them in holding fast the Christian Profession without wavering, and to guard them against such things, as would most dispose them to draw back, and apostatize from it, Heb. 10, 23, 25. 26. 39.*

And for these, and such like Reasons, publick worship is of so great account in God's sight, that he has framed much of our Holy Religion, with a particular eye to it; and instituted several great, and most important things, for the sake of it. Such is the Church it self, which is instituted for joynt and publick worship. The Society thereby introduced among us, is to associate us in the common worship of that God, whom we all confess: and the Fellowship arising thence, is to make us all Fellow-worshippers. Such also is the Ministry, which God has appointed for his publick Service, or to minister unto him, either as his Mouth unto his People, or as their Mouth unto Himself, in publick Assemblies or Congregations. Such likewise are those set and solemn Times for worship, which he has instituted both among Jews and Christians, and which are all design'd for publick worship in Joynt-Assemblies. Yea, even our Prayers, which are the Acts of worship, express communion and joynt-society, being put up according to his appointment in the plural number; he having taught us to say, *Our Father which art in Heaven, and give us this day, &c.* which speaks the communion and concurrence of more besides our selves. And the Holy Sacraments, those most eminent Acts and Instances of worship, are ordained for

\* 1 Cor.

13.

† 1 Cor.

10. 17.

|| v. 16.

\* Rubr.  
in Com-  
mun. of  
the Sick.

Acts of society and partnership, or of communion therein. \* *We are all baptized into one body.* And † *We, being many, are one bread and one body.* And || *The bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ; and the cup of blessing which we bless, is the communion of the blood of Christ, as St. Paul says.* And because by their institution, they are not only to be Acts of worship, but of publick worship, or of joynt-concurrence or communion therein; therefore doth \* our Church allow no Sacrament even to the Sick, without three, or two at the least, to make a Congregation; and condemns the private and solitary Masses of the Church of Rome, which are eaten by the Priest alone.

Such is the natural obligation, and such the necessity and importance of publick worship, which is one of the greatest visible supports of Religion, without which 'tis to be feared it would sink, and be in danger to fall in the Earth.

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Whereas the paying of this worship in Church-Unity and dependance on a Bishop, though it be a duty too, yet is a duty more of positive obligation. For to have Bishops, and to pay all our publick worship in communion with them, is no natural duty, which always was incumbent on all men; but came in with Christianity, by positive Institution, or particular Revelation. And besides, though important in it self, yet, in comparifon, it is of less importance, not only the natural parts of the Ministratation, but the *positive* too, as the *Holy Sacraments*, &c. being, I conceive, of more Weight. And though the want of this Union under our own Bishops, by the opposite Passions and angry Tempers which Schism introduces, doe greatly eat out true devotion; yet doth it not make so wide a breach and waste therein, as the want of any Ministerial Offices at all would do.

Now in any competition of Duties, the Rule is, that *things of positive obligation, shall give way to things of natural obligation*; and *positives of less importance, to positives of more importance*; in those cases, and times, where we can not do both. The natural there, takes place of the positive; and the greater, sets aside the less. Particularly, as to the *keeping up Religion, and Church-unity and Association*, if in any case we can not maintain both, but a competition happens to arise between them; the *care of Church-unity*, must give way to the *care of Religion*. We must look then to keep up as much Church-unity, as we may do in keeping up Religion, which being once lost, Church-unity and association signifies nothing. And not begin the other way, to content our selves with keeping up so much of Christian Religion, as we do in strict observance of the Rules of Church-society and Union. For Christ's first and chief design, was to plant and preserve the Religion. And that Church-unity, which is either valuable, or desireable in the sight of God, is Church-unity with true Religion, not Church-unity without it: and we are tyed to keep up Church-union for Religion's, not Religion for Union's sake, as I shewed \* before. And therefore the duty and obligation to communicate in some Ministerial Offices, will be a fair excuse for doing this out of the way of Church-unity or dependance on our own Bishops, when both can not have place.

\* Part 3.  
Chap. 4.

And thus I think the Scripture determines in such cases, and that,

2. *These abatements, are what God himself has been willing to make on such necessity, in other like duties.* He has not required, that men should stick so fast to those duties, or parts of duty, which are inferior, or subservient, or appendages unto others; as that for their sakes, they should drop other duties, which are principal or superiour to them: nor is he willing, that in care, of preserving their practice of lesser

Vertues.

Vertues inviolable, they should at any time let the weightier fall. So that to think he will abate, and relax something of the duty of Communion, when that is necessary to keep on the more important duty, of publick Ministration; and that he doth not the the People up to such strict care of communicating in the Unity of the Church, as must drop and let fall all communion in Ministerial Offices, when they are not to be had, but at the hands of those who minister in breach thereof: is only to think, that he is ready to make the same equitable allowance, on any competition in these, as he doth on like competitions in other duties.

And that Almighty God is willing to make these abatements on such necessity and competitions, I conceive may sufficiently appear by the following Instances.

*Circumcision*, and *Sacrifice*, and the *Sabbath*, are all positive duties. But *Circumcision* and *Sacrifice*, being of more importance, they were to take place of the *Sabbath*; and whensoever it so fell out, that they could not observe both, men might be excused in breaking the *Sabbath*.  
 \* Jo. 7. 22, 23. Rest, \* to labour in *Circumcision*, as they did whensoever the eighth Day of the Childs Age, which was appointed for his *Circumcision*, fell to be on the *Sabbath Day*; or in *Sacrifices*, with the labour whereof, † the  
 † Mat. 12. 5. Priests in the Temple continually profaned the *Sabbath*, and were blameless, as our Lord determines. And God himself declares, || I will have Mercy before *Sacrifice*: which imports, according to our \* Lords allegations and applications of it, that Men should drop the duty of *Sacrifice* to attend the duty of *Mercy*, when, for the time, they must let one fall, and could not pay both. So, making the necessity of performing natural duties, an excuse for the omission of positive; and the necessity of performing more important duties, an excuse for the omission of less important, when there is a necessity of letting one fall.

Thus also it was a positive duty, and rule among the Jews, that the Priests should kill the *Sacrifice*, according to what is said in \* the Law, Lev. 1. 4, 5. The People, who brought it, as it is there ordered, were to lay their hands upon the head of the *Sacrifice*. But it was left to the Priests to kill it, as Josephus \* relates. Whence the Priests were able to give the number of the Paschal *Sacrifices* at any Passover, as they did to \* Cestius Gallus, as the same Author testifies. And this is the account of the † Jewish Doctors. But under || Hezekiah, when, by reason of the great and general defection, which had been in the days of his Father Ahaz, the Priests, who had sanctified themselves, were too few, as the Text says, to slay all the burnt-offerings; rather than any of the *Sacrifices* should drop, their Brethren the Levites slew them, and helped

\* Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 7. c. 17.  
 † Vid. Episcop. instit. l. 3. c. 3.  
 ‡ 74. & Grot. Annot. in Mat. 26. 18.  
 || 2 Chron. 18. 23, 24, 25.

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Chap. 7. *from Men in a Schism, rather than live without any at all.*

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helped the Priests therein till the work was ended, and till the other Priests had performed their legal Cleanings, or Sanctified themselves, 2 Chron. 29. 34. And the same, on a like want of the regular and appropriate Ministers, to have recourse to for this Ministration, was done again, 2 Chron. 30. 17.

Again, it was a positive Duty and Rule, that the legally unclean, as Lepers, or they who had touched Dead Bodies, or any persons, either Men or Women, under any accidents or things which their Law judged Unclean, should not eat of the Pass-over, or other Holy things, Lev. 15. 31. & 22. 4 5, 6. & Num. 9. 6. But yet, rather than lose the Pass-over, at a time when there was the greatest Reason for them to partake therein, they were allowed to let fall this legal Rite, and the legally Unclean were admitted under Hezekiah. When he came to the Throne, his first and chief care, was to set up a Reformation of Religion, which had suffered so exceedingly in Achaz's Reign. And in pursuit thereof, he calls, not only Judah, but also Israel, to the keeping of his first Pass-over, at the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, which he had cleansed and restored from the Pollution of Idols, to the worship and service of the true God, 2 Chron. 30. 1. And when, upon his Letters, not only they of Judah, but several also of Israel were come; that he might not baulk the beginning of the Reformation, nor the People lose the end of their coming, especially they of Israel, viz. out of Ephraim, Manasse, Issachar and Zebulon, who had never been there before, \* since the days of Solomon; they were admitted to eat in their legal Uncleaness without legal Cleanings, rather than go without the Pass-over, tho this was to eat it otherwise than it was written, 2 Chron. 30. 18, 19. And in so doing, 'tis said God accepted them, v. 20.

\* Ver. 26

The like I may observe of the Christian Pass-over, or of our Holy Eucharist. This, by a Positive rule among us, or by our Blessed Saviours \* Commandements, and Institution, is to be Administred in Wine. \* Mat. 26 27. 29. Luke 22. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 11. 25. And 'tis not lawful to Consecrate, or Administer the same in any other Liquor but Wine, or the juice of the Grape, after it is perfected and purged by Fermentation. But this positive Duty, of Doing it in Wine, seems to be meant strictly, only whilst Wine can be had, wherewith to keep up this Holy Administration; and with allowance to those Christians and Countries, who have no Wine, rather than live without the blessed Eucharist, to Administer it in some other Liquor, which comes near it, and is made as like to it, as they can. And Julius Bishop of Rome, directed the \* Egyptian Bishops, that in case of necessity, where they could not have Wine for this purpose, they should squeeze a cluster of grapes into the Chalice, and mixing some Water therewith, use it instead

\*—Nam quod de expresso Botro, id est de uvarum Granis

populus communicatur, valde est omnino confusum: sed si necesse sit, botrus in Calice comprimitur, & aqua miscetur. Julius Papa Episcopis per Egyptum. Decreti Tert. Part. de Consecratione, Distinct. cap. 7. De his qui Sacrificando varie errabant.

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thereof.



\* Ludolf, thereof. And like to this, is done at this day, by the Christians of *Habeshia* (that large and potent Christian Kingdom in *Africk*) who, \* that Hist. Æ- they have good Grapes, yet through the heat of their Climate, or other rhio. l. 1. causes, can make no Wine thereof; and also by the Coptes in Egypt, and c. 9. Nu. by the Christians of St. Thomas in India; who, for want of true Wine, use Water infused on Raisins, and squeezed from them, as we are told Com. ad by † those, who have given the best accounts of those places. Hist. Æ- th op.

P. 139.  
Nu. 71.

† Vid.

Ludolf.

Hist. Æ-

thio. l. 3

c. 6. Nu.

81, 82.

& Com.

ad Hist.

Æthiop.

P. 378.

3. Thus the People and Church of God have held, and practiced, under the greatest Schismes of former times.

1. It did so, I conceive, in the Schism of the Kingdom of *Israel*, of the Ten Tribes. The good people among them, were not without Sacrifices, and Ministerial Offices, to be had in their Synagogues and High Places, as well as at *Jeroboams Calves*. And the Worship of the true God, must needs have failed, much more, and much sooner in *Israel*, than it did, had it been otherwise.

In some Persecutions, indeed, raised against the Worshippers of the true God, there were none left to Minister to them. As it was in *Jerobels* Persecution, when she cut off the Prophets of the Lord, and when those Hundred Prophets, whom good *Obadiab* saved; were all hid, and kept secret in two Caves, 1 King. 18. 4, 13. So that *Elijah* knew of none, who went about affording any Religious Ministrations, but himself; and accordingly tells God, that of all his Prophets, he was left alone, 1 King. 19. 10, 14. And then, the Seven Thousand Souls, who, as God tells the Prophet, had not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, but kept true to him all that time, ver. 18. could not resort to Ministerial Offices, because they were not in the way of those, who could afford them. Or, sometimes, when the Kingdoms were not at Wars, and when that would be connived at, notwithstanding the Order of the Kingdom of *Israel* to the contrary, made at first by \* *Jeroboams* wicked policy; they might go up now and then, to the Temple at *Jerusalem*. As *Tobit*, who lived under such failure of True Worship and Ministrations, \* sayes he did at the Feasts, carrying his Fruits and Tents with him, to give to the sons of *Aaron*: Though in this going up, he sayes he was alone, when all the Tribes, and the House of his Father, sacrificed to *Baal*, before they were led away Captive by the *Assyrians*.

But that way of keeping up Religion, and the Worship of the true God, in those Ten Tribes, which was both General, to the body of good People among them; and Constant, or a way of doing it in all times, was the Ministrations of their own Kingdom; or such Ministerial Offices as were performed among themselves. That is, by their own Prophets, trained up in their own Schools or Colleges; and by their own Priests, who were to preach the Law, and to minister Religious Offices. These Priests and Prophets, being in the place of Shepherds, were bound to administer the

\* 1 King.

12, 26,

27, 28.

\* Tob. 1.

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offices, and are severely \* blamed and threatened by God in Israel, as well as others were in Judah, if, instead of Feeding their Flocks, they should only Feed Themselves. And if he required the One, to minister them; since the Relative carriage and dependance ought alwayes to be reciprocal between Relatives, he must in consequence allow the Other, I think, under this necessity to Resort to them. For I conceive, the Pastors can not stand bound, to Preach to those, who are bound never to Hear them; or to Minister to those, who are in no wise allow'd to partake in their Ministrations. And these Ministrations, those good People had to Communicate in, not only at Jeroboams Calves, where God was prophaned by the Worship of Images, but also in their Synagogues, or High Places.

But now, all this Communion of the good people among them, was Communicateing with those, who Minister'd in a Schism. For the Altar at Jerusalem, God himself had \* appointed as the only Altar, whereon they should offer any burnt offering; setting it up for the Principle of Union, or as that, which should compact together, or keep at one, all the Tribes of the Jewish Church and Nation. And the New Altars at Dan and Bethel, were set up \* by Jeroboam, in opposition to the one Altar at Jerusalem. As were also all those other Altars, which the people set up, and whereat they offer'd sacrifice and burnt incense, in the usual places of their Religious Assemblies: \* all the Children of Israel being required every Sabbath Day, and at other set-times, to hold holy Convocations in all their Dwellings. Or, in their High-Places, where || Jeroboam built him Houses for Worship, at the same time when he set up his Golden Calves at Dan and Bethel, and made Priests for them of the lowest of the people; out of \* which Priests of High-places, he took some to be Priests at his Altar at Bethel. At which high-places, when they were free from all Heathen Idols, the people, for their devotion and convenience, were very prone, and strongly bent to offer their incense and oblations, as their Ancestors had done, in the \* days of Samuel, and also of || Solomon before the building of the Temple. And thus Prone they were, not only in the ten Tribes of Israel, but in that of Judah too; where, under great and careful Reformations of Religion in other respects, we read so often of the peoples burning incense still, and offering sacrifices in the high-places: As under \* Jehosaphat, and || Azariah, and Jotham, and under Manasseh after his Repentance and Restoration to his Throne, when though he reformed Religion, † nevertheless the people did sacrifice still in the high-places, yet unto the Lord their God only.

So that the Priests in the ten Tribes, offering all their sacrifices at one or other of these opposite altars, set up altar against altar, and call'd all the people to take part with new altars, or to \* become guilty of a Schism. Of the Criminallness and danger whereof, they were admonish'd by Hezekiah, † who sent Posts and Proclamations thro' all Israel, to

\* Ezek.  
34. 2. &  
C. 13. 2, 3,  
4. 5, &c.  
& Isa. 56.  
8, 10, 11.  
& Jer. 23.  
1. 2, &c.  
  
\* Deut.  
12. 4, 5,  
6, 13, 14,  
26, 27. &  
Hof 8. 11  
\* 1 King.  
12. 26,  
27, 28.  
\* Lev. 23.  
2, 3, 4,  
&c.  
|| 1 King.  
12. 28,  
31. & c.  
\* 13. 32.  
|| 1 King.  
12. 32.  
  
\* 1 Sa. 9.  
12. 19.  
|| 1 King.  
3, 2.  
  
\* 1 King.  
22. 43.  
|| 2 King.  
15. 3, 4.  
\* v. 34, 35  
† 2 Chro.  
33. 17.  
\* Cypr.  
ep. 69. p.  
182, 183.  
† 2 Chro.  
30. 5.

\* Deut. 16. 5, 6. invite and call them to come and keep the pass-over at Jerusalem, according to what is \* written. And this, to † prevent Gods further wrath, and carrying of the Remnant away to Babylon, whither, \* for this, among other provocations, he had already carryed part of them. Yet, the necessity of some publick worship or ministerial offices, Legitimated this Communion of good people in all lawful services, with these Schismatical Ministers, after the division, when, the Kingdoms being no longer one, the people were \* stopped from going up to worship at Jerusalem.

\* 1 King. 12. 26, 27, 28. 2. It did the same, in Legitimizing Communion with the Schismatical Novatians, when the Catholicks were sore straightned by the persecuting Arians, and at a loss for ministerial offices in other places. The persecuting Arians, were not for Tolerating opposite Communions, but for forcing all others to Communicate with themselves: Persecuting, as Socrates \* relates, not only the Catholicks, but also the Novatians, because, tho' Schismaticks as to point of Discipline and Anti-Bishops, they were Orthodox concerning the Nicene Faith. But their greatest severities were against the Catholicks, to whom, as \* Sozomen sayes, they left no Oratories; treating the Schismatical Novatians something more gently, to whom, as Socrates † adds, they allowed three Churches, even in the Royal City, or Constantinople it self.

\* Eccl. Hist. l. 2. cap. 38. p. 142. \* lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 571. † lib. 2. cap. 38. p. 144. \* lib. 2. cap. 38. p. 144. † lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 571. Now in this want of Catholick Oratories, or of Ministerial Offices in adherence and unity with their own Bishops; The Catholicks, say \* Socrates and † Sozomen, resorted to the Novatian Churches, and joyed in their Assemblies and Prayers. And yet, at that time when they did this, the Novatians were Schismaticks, who having an Anti-Bishop of their own distinct from the Catholick Bishop of that Church, and being incorporated as a Distinct Body under him, thereby kept up two Heads and two Bodies in the same Church, which I think is plainly a State of Schism. Yea, and those Rigors, of refusing reconciliation to those, who had fallen in persecution, (on pretence whereof they fell into this Schism at first, by ordaining Novatian an Anti-Bishop at Rome against Cornelius) they still kept on. And by reason of this, which they alledged and insisted on as their \* Original or Ancient Precept, they refused, as the aforesaid Authors † testifie, to come to a perfect Union. And accordingly, the Communion, which they both mention as passing betwixt them, is a \* Communion in Prayers; because, according to this Ancient Precept alledged, the Novatians † denied the Communion of Mysteries or Sacraments, which are the Seal of Remission, which, in the case of

\* Ag-  
χαῖον  
παρε-  
γελμα.  
† Soc. lib.  
p. 144.  
\* Soz.  
p. 571.

\* Συνερχόμενοι ἀλλήλοις συνήχοντο, Soc. p. 144. εἰς ταῦτόν συνήσαν τε καὶ συνήευχοντο, Soc. p. 571. † Μὴ δέχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιτευχότας εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ἀλλὰ προτρέπειν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐκ τῶ μετάνοιαν. Τὴν δὲ συγχωρήσιν ἐπιτρέπειν θεῶ, καὶ δυναμένῳ, καὶ ἑξουσίαν ἔχοντι συγχωρεῖν ἡμῶν ἡμαρτίας, Soc. l. 4. c. 28. p. 245.

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those who had fallen, they would reserve, as Socrates observes, to God himself. So that what Communion the Catholicks thought it excusable to hold with them, in this Necessity, or want of Ministerial Offices from their own Clergy, was held with men, who plainly Officiated in a state of Schism.

3. It did the same in our own great Rebellion, when our Bishops were all driven out, and Deposed with the King. For then, the Orthodox and Loyal Adherents of the King and Bishops, took up with the Communion of the Parish Churches, and thought, that for the sake of public worship and ministerial offices, they might do so, where they had no Ministers of their own to Communicate with. And yet, what Assemblies were, not only in a more barefaced and wicked Rebellion, but also in a more Elagant Schism, than the establish'd and complying Churches and Assemblies of that time. So that in the Opinion of those our Ancestors, it was a good excuse, for having Divine offices in such Assemblies, when they could have better no where else.

4. Lastly, this necessity of having some Ministerial offices, is generally thought to Legitimate Communion in those Churches, which have no Bishops. Thus it is, in some Foreign Protestant Churches, who have no Bishops, to Head and Unite them; (as our own Churches had not here at home, in the days of the Great Rebellion.) And yet, the people there must Unite with their ministrations, because they must Unite with some. They must have some Divine service and Religion. And if they must have it, they must resort to some who Minister it. And if they can have no Ministration thereof in an Episcopal Communion, they must take up with it from such other as they can have.

I speak of the case of the People in those Churches; and it is not the Clergies, but their Liberty, of taking up with Ministerial Offices from the hands of Schismatics, in want of others, which I am here discouraging of. And in their case, the necessity is full for their excuse. For 'tis plain, they can not have those Ministrations in Episcopal Communion, unless their Clergy, whom they can resort to for the same, would receive Episcopal Ordination. And since, in the place where their Lot is cast, they can not have Episcopal Communion, they will be excused for wanting it. Though worshipping God, or communicating in Ministerial Offices, is a natural duty; yet the confining this to the communion of a Bishop, is a positive Limitation. And necessity, though it can discharge no natural duties; yet may sometimes excuse, and supersede positives. So that when they can not communicate in Ministerial Offices under Bishops, they will be excused, I hope, for communicating in the same without them.

And as to the Clergy, though I will not here discuss, or determine their case, yet is this necessity, where it can be justly, and fully pleaded, thought by many to bid fair, for excusing & warranting them, in *Ministring without*



*Of the Excuseableness of Receiving Ministerial Offices Part 3.*

*without Episcopal Powers.* For at one time, the Priest-hood belonged to the *First-born*. At first it was lodged in the *Patriarchs*. And thus we read of *Abraham*, that he would command and instruct his *Children*, and his *House-hold* after him, in the true Religion, *Gen. 18. 18.* And of him, and *Jacob*, and *Job*, and other *Patriarchs* offering *Sacrifices*. And from the *Patriarchs*, it came to be vested in the *First-born*, till the *Levites* among the *Jews*, were appropriated and given to God in exchange for them, *Numb. 3. 41.* And this limiting it afterwards to one *Tribe*, or *Family*, as the *Line of Aaron* among the *Jews*; or to men *Episcopally* called and *Ordained*, as it is among the *Christians*; were Limitations of positive institution. And therefore necessity, which supersedes, or excuses the want of positives, though it leave them still under the force of Naturals, is thought to bid fair towards taking off the exactness of these latter Restraints, and bearing men out in parting from them in those things where they can not avoid it, so long as they still keep close to them in others, where they can; if they have this necessity, honestly and fairly to plead for themselves.

Now, if this necessity of Peoples communicating in Ministerial Offices, will excuse their communicating with Ministers who have no Bishops; I see not but it should do the same, in point of communicating with Ministers, who are broke off from their own Bishop. For surely it is a more flagrant breach of Union, to break off from Episcopacy it self, than from any particular Bishop; and a deeper Schism, to cast off all Bishops, than to cast off one. And therefore that necessity of communicating in Ministerial Offices, which is allow'd to legitimate and excuse the one, will not be denyed to legitimate and excuse the other too.

4. Besides this, of *Gods People* having held and practised thus, under the greatest Schisms of former times; in further confirmation of this Liberty, I observe, Lastly, how it has done the same, to give Relief in some other compassionate cases, about communion, which have only like Plea for abatements, as this case has.

For great purposes, (and what will be alleadged greater, than preventing a total want of publick worship and Ministerial Offices?) the Church has abated in shunning the communion of Schismaticks, especially before they are cut off by judicial Censures; and of excommunicate persons.

For, in abatement of this keeping off from their communion, it has allow'd men to communicate with them at the beginning, ere Schism, yea, or Heresie it self is fully formed, and whilst it is capable of being prevented. An Heretick, \* *St. Paul* orders not to be rejected from communion before he has had a first and second Admonition: So that till then, in hopes of prevention, they might Communicate with him. And accordingly, the *Catholicks* did for a good while Communicate with the *Arians*, after

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the bursting out of that Herefy, whilst, by that forbearance, and by the other parties seeking still in their definitions to come as near as they could to the truth, they conceived hopes of remedy, or cure thereof. There being no breach of communion, on account of their different judgements, for some time, but all Assembling together, and joyning in the same ministrations, as Socomen \* says.

\* L. 2.

C. 32. p.

492. & 1.

3. C. 13.

P. 514.

Or, after the Breach of Communion is made, and different Churches are set up, tho' we do not go to theirs, it has allow'd them to come to our Assemblies, in hopes to cure them. Thus, at the beginning of our Reformation, after the division from their Church, notwithstanding their Adherence to the Pope, and all their Errors both in worship and Doctrines, the Papists were \* allowed for several years under Queen Elizabeth, to come to our Churches. And the Dissenters from the Episcopal Communion among us, are all Schismatics; but yet they have not been driven out thereof, but allow'd to joyn with us in publick offices, when they would come into our Churches, as still they have been invited and encouraged to do, if they were not under sentence of Excommunication from the Bishops Courts. Yea, though their offences were lyable to ipso Facto Excommunications by several \* Canons: Such ipso Facto Excommunications, being only *sententia lata ab ipso jure*, a sentence pass'd by the Law, which, as the Canonists say, needs

\* Camb.

der. Eliz.

ad An.

1570.

\* Can. 6,

7. 8. 9.

Ecc. Ang.

*sententiam latam a iudice*, another sentence pass'd by the judge, \* an ipso facto excommunication by any Canons, not barring men from Communion, till there be a declaratory sentence, as Lyndwood notes. Thus also, they, who, in Heathen Persecutions, fell to sacrifice to Idols, || were Segregated, or shut out from Communion, by the Primitive Canons. And with men excluded, it is made unlawful to Communicate by the \* Canons of the Apostles, and others, as I shew'd before. And Gaius Diddensis, and his Deacon, were Suspended from Communion themselves, for Communicating with Lapsers. And yet, in great need thereof, and when there was hopes thereby to recover them; when in prison, the Egyptian Martyrs did in great Charity Communicate with them, both at their Common Tables, and in Prayers, as || Dionysius Alexandrinus reports. In these and other Rules of Discipline, where there are great Reasons for Favor and abatements, the Church it self would have no want thereof. † In things, that will

\* On the Words ipso facto in a Constitution, his Note is, Et sic est Constitutio lata sententia. Requiritur tamen Sententia Declaratoria, Lind. in Constit. Joh. Pecham. c. Quia incontinentia vitium. And ib. on the Word Ferimus; Sic est Poena sententia lata, quam incurrit inobediens, ipso jure. Executio tamen hujus poenae fieri non debet, nisi prius per ipsum, ad quem pertinet, Sententia Declaratoria super hoc fuerit promulgata.

|| Cyp. Ep. 34. p. 68.

\* Can. 10. ap.

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Eccl. Hist. †—Εἰς δὲ τὴν Χρῆσιν, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὰ τῆς συνήθειας, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκριβείας, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἑαυτῶν, Can. 102. Conc. in Trullo, vid. Balf. & Zon. in loc. & Can. 3. S. Basil. ad Amphiloch,

*Of the Excuseableness of Receiving Ministerial Offices Part 3,*  
*not bear extremities, or the Rigor of Law, as the Fathers in the Council in*  
*Tullo, and St. Basil also in his Canons, say, they are to Relax and make*  
*abatements, according to Custom, and the form received.*

Thus, on great reason, have some equitable abatements of the Rigor of the foresaid Rules, for *shunning of Communion with men fallen into Heresy, or Schism, or other depriving crime*, still been made in the Church, and some reasonable liberties indulged in those cases. It was thought reasonable to recede thus, and to take these Liberties, when put thereto to serve other peoples necessities; must it not needs be to the full as much so, when put thereto to serve our own? It was allowable, to serve the spiritual wants of the offenders: Can it be less so, to serve those of innocent men? So that, as it suits, as I shew'd before, with the reason of things, and with the equitable allowances made by God himself on such Competitions: It suits no less, I conceive, with the Practice of the Church, and with the Concessions and Allowances thereof, to take up with ministerial offices from one in a Schism, rather than to live without any at all, or when they cannot be had at the Hands of other men.

Albeit therefore, to avoid the the Guilt of Schism, men are to disclaim, and stand off from the Communion of Anti-Bishops and their Adherents, and not to Participate in their ministrations: Yet is that strictly, I think, on supposal of Room or Opportunity to Participate more Regularly with others. But want of other ministrations, will be an excuse for the faultiness, of seeking them from them; and it will be allow'd, I conceive, to take up therewith from Schismatics, rather than to live without any ministerial offices at all.

And thus, under the paucity or small number of the Rightful Bishops and Clergy their adherents, and their insufficiency, as is alledged, for affording general opportunities, especially in a Persecuting time, which allows no freedom of open and promiscuous Assemblies: will both a *Due Conviction and Conscience of the criminalness of Schism*, and the *Exercise of publick Worship and Devotion*, be kept up, and provided for in the Church of Christ. They will preserve a *Conscionable sense of Schism*, by owning the Unlawfulness of Communicating with the Ministrations of Schismatics, where they can have others, perhaps on all occasions, however for the most part, at least in competent measure, though not in returns so constant as they wish they could; yea, and though in these cases, they must be at some pains for these Ministrations, or have them with Peril, or Persecutions. I say, though with *Pains or Persecutions*. For, in such **DIVISIONS**, we must not think it an indifferent thing, which Assemblies we resort to for Communion: nor hold our selves Free, to go among those, who are met in the unity of the Church, in the Morning; but to a Schismatical Congregation, in the Afternoon.

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Chap. 7. *from Men in a Schism, rather than live without any at all.*

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ternoon. Nor must any fancy themselves at Liberty, to seek Religious Offices from men ministring in a Schism, when that is necessary to qualifie themselves for some secular office or advantage, or to serve a worldly Turn. Nor when it is necessary to save their pains, or to shun fleshly perils, where they might have the same Religious Offices in the Unity of the Church, but with Persecutions. For in the abatements here pleaded for in the present case, from *Necessity*, I speak not of *worldly Necessity*, or of abateing where it is necessary for our worldly interests and convenience, or to prevent outward losses and sufferings. But of *Necessity for Religion, and Gods Service*; for our Duty, not for our Carnal ends: Or, of abateing of the strict observance of this command of *keeping Unity*, where it is necessary to the keeping and discharge of *other of Gods Commandments* happening to *stand in competition therewith*, which he sets more by. And they will keep up the practice of Devotion, and the publick Ministries and profession of Religion, by admitting the necessity of some Ministrations for an excuse; and so taking up with Ministerial Offices from them, when they can not otherwise, though with Persecutions, be supplied therewith, but must live without any at all.

CHAP. VIII.

*Of Communicating in like Necessity, where there are some Prayers sinful in the Matter of them.*

BUT in Communicating with Anti bishops, and their Adherents, set up to head immoral Prayers and Practices, as is set forth in the fore-mentioned Cases, there is not only the *Schismaticalness* of the *Assemblies*, but the *sinful Matter* of the *Prayers* to be considered. There is a Fault in *what they pay*, which is a corrupt and sinful Worship; as well as in the *Society where they pay it*, which is not in the *Unity of the Spirit*, and the *Bond of Peace*, but in *Schismatical Congregations*. And though the *Necessity* of having some Ministerial Offices, and the want of opportunity for any others, will excuse the *first faultiness*, viz. *The Schismaticalness of the Assemblies*: What shall such People do to get over the *second*, viz. the *Unrighteous Petitions*, or *sinful Matter of the Prayers*, which are offered up to God therein?

As to this, to concur and go along in any immoral or unrighteous Petition, or Thanksgiving, is certainly an immoral and unrighteous thing; as *praying*, is most solemnly *taking part with*, and *endeavouring* for them. Nay, to offer up these, in Prayers and Religious Addresses, is a most impudently and horribly prophane thing; it abuses the Great and most Holy God, by making him a Present of the most hateful Abominations;



minations; it blasphemes and asperges him, for an immoral and unrighteous God, who can accept a Present of Unrighteousness, who can be pleased, or think himself honoured therewith, or be entreated to become the Patron and Maintainer thereof. So that when such Prayers occur in Sacred Offices, or when they have the accessional allotment and furtherance, of set-Days, of Fasting, or Thanksgiving; no Man, who would preserve any Reverence for God, or Respect for Religion, or Care of his own Soul, must concur therein: but, instead of helping on, all true Worshipers of God, and Lovers of Righteousness, as I conceive, most utterly detest and abhor them.

But in mixt Prayers, where some are holy, and some are sinful, what may be done by those, who would pick and chuse, and joyn with them only in the good, but keep off from the evil?

Now as to this, the *sinful mixture* may be of *Idolatrous Worship or Prayers*. And not to discuss, whether it may be excuseable in any Cases, to resort to Churches, where there are such Mixtures of idolatrous service; I think however, these are not on the same Level with others, but that there is a greater bar to all Communion in Worship, by such Mixtures. For *Idolatry*, doth more peculiarly and heinously affect worship. In respect of it, God declares himself a *\* jealous God*: and so is less likely to accept of any worship in partnership with Creatures; or, in sacred Offices, to admit of, and go halves with Rivals. And with particular respect to this, St. Paul sets out the incompatibleness of *\* communicating*, both with *Christ* and *Belial*; and the Scripture-precepts, of *† be ye separate, and come out from among them*, do more directly and forceably affect this, than other sins in Religious Assemblies.

Or the *good parts of the worship*, which are intermixt with the evil, may not afford them all that is necessary in *Christian Worship*; or not in such a way, as it is necessary they should have it. And then, there is a bar to Communion in such worship, not only from the Mixture of ill Prayers, from which the partakers in other parts would separate; but also from the defectiveness of those good parts thereof, which are to recommend it, because they do not supply the Worshipers with all that is necessary in *Christian worship*. Thus, instead of *whole*, they may administer *half Sacraments*, sacrilegiously withholding the *Cup* from the People, which Christ has appointed to be received by all the Communicants, as well as the *Bread*. Or, what good Prayers and Oblations they do put up to God, may be all in an *unknown Tongue*: which is not to pray in that way that is necessary for Christians, who are to offer up a *\* spiritual worship*, which is to be done by *† praying with understanding*.

Or the evil parts, which are intermixed with the good, are indisposably to be performed together with them, and he, who would communicate

\* Ex. 20.  
5. & c. 34.  
14.

\* 2 Cor.  
6. 14, 15,  
16.  
† v. 17 &  
Rev. 18.  
3, 4.

\* Joh. 4.  
23, 24.  
† 1 Cor.  
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municate in one, must not be allowed to let the other alone. As there can be no receiving of the *Sacrament*, without worshipping it, in the *Church of Rome*. It imposing a compliance with its Corruptions, as a condition to those, who would partake in any sound parts of its Offices.

And these are such hindrances of Communicateing with that Church in the *Mass*, which are not to be urged in Bar of Communion, under all immoral mixtures of worship and devotions.

And much less is the allowance of some communion under such immoral mixtures, to be extended for a justification of the same communion, in the *Assemblies of Jews*, yea, or even of *Mahometans*, on pretence of joyning, in like manner only with the Good, but standing off from the ill parts of their Offices. For that *Church-Communion*, which, as Christians, in our *Creed* we all profess to believe, and seek, is the *Communion of Saints*, that is, in the language of those times, of *Christians*, not any Church-communion of *Professed Unbelievers*.

But suppose, that in a Christian Church, retaining all the *Essentials of Faith*, or *Articles of the Creed*, all that is necessary in Christian Worship, is to be had pure, and unspotted; and in a Tongue, which all understand; but some immoral petitions, or Prayers, are intermixt therewith, which people may be Tolerated to pass over, and to express dissent from, whilst they shew Concurrence with all the good Prayers, which come along with them. Are they barr'd from such Communion, by such mixtures?

As to this, it may depend much upon the degree thereof, according as the evil passages, are *Tolerable* or *Intolerable*, (I mean not to be done, as if any man were to expect a Toleration to do a wicked Action, but to be born,) on the point of *this unlawfulness*. In care of keeping Union, much would be bore withall for peace, and in hopes of seeing a cure thereof, whilst more modesty is shewn, in these unrighteous and immoral petitions. And, in want thereof other ways, for the benefit of Communicateing in some Ministerial Offices and publick devotion, men would bear more. If such unlawful and immoral passages, were fewer in number, and occur'd more seldom in the service, to shock and gall good mindes; or, if they are any ways uncertain, and less Peremptory in signification, and some way or other accomodable to an innocent and lawful sense: Good people, though they could not Concur in, would yet more patiently endure them. But they are less to be born, when more express and unavoidable in signification, and more grown in number. So that as any Assemblies multiply these petitions, they increase these difficulties and discouragements to those, who, for the sake of peace; yea, or (on the setting up of a Schism, after which they are no longer bound to maintain Ecclesiastical Peace and Union with them,) for the benefit of having publick Offices and Ministrations, would fain meet at their publick service.

If once the Minglers of such immoralities in Prayers, shall, to this impediment of *immoral mixtures*, add another, viz. Of *breaking the Unity of the Church*, especially by *setting up of Anti-Bishops*, and forming a *Flagrant Schism*: There is an end of bearing with these mixtures for the sake of peace, and for maintenance of *Communion with them*. For this peace and Union, is not to be kept with Schismatics, as I have shewn; the Scriptural and Ecclesiastical Rules, being not to seek, but to shun Communion with such Persons. It is to keep United to those Bishops, who are the Orthodox and Rightful Heads, and to such as depend on them, and adhere to them; not to such Heterodox Dividers, as break off from them. So that this bearing with the irksomeness of such mixtures, for the sake of Union, is a Reason of bearing only before the Formation of the Schism; but is never to be urged that way more, but has all its force turned another way, when once that is done.

Or, before such Formation of a Schism, the immorality of those petitions may be so express and unavoidable, the iniquity of them so staring and hainous, or the repetitions thereof so numerous, and the use thereof so fixed and settled; that good people neither would, nor ought to bear them, could they have any opportunity of doing otherwise.

Indeed, sin and wickedness, especially in any plane, gross, and great instances thereof, if once evidently made the matter of worship, and put up in Prayers, sets people at liberty in any Church, as I have

\* Ch. 3.  
Part. 3.

\* shewn, to refuse them, and joyn in others, whose matter is pure and sinless.

When once therefore corruption gets into the matter of Prayers, and sin makes a part of sacred offices, it gives a liberty for people to withdraw from those Prayers, though administred by their Lawful Pastors; and, if any Ministers Regularly empower'd will give them the opportunity thereof, to change them for a pure and sinless service. And still, the higher and more open the iniquity of such Prayers or Clauses, and the more numerous the Repetition of them is; the more are they, not only set free, but forced and necessitated to this. And the more answerably, are the Orthodox and Faithful Ministers necessitated, to afford them opportunities thereof.

Lovers of Peace, out of an Ardent desire of Union, may forbear a while, so long as those Churches are more modest in their Corruptions, or whilst there may be hopes of curing them, especially at the beginning, and of closing the breaches. And this Allowance of forbearance, for a time, in Case of such *Corruption of Worship*; is no more than we see is made in Case of *Heresy*, which is a *Corruption in Faith*. This Corruption of Faith, as well as Corruption of Worship, gives a discharge

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# Chap. 8. *Some Prayers Sinful as to the Matter of them.*

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of Communion, as I have \* shewn. And yet Communion is not so discharged thereby, but that it may be kept on for a time, as I observed it was with the *Arians* in the beginings of that *Heresy*: The Rule being, not to \* reject an *Heretick* from Communion whilst he may be thought sanable, or not till he has had a *first* and *second* Admonition. And thus it was judged and practiced, by those *Orthodox at Antioch*, who kept a meeting for some time in the *Arian Assemblies* under *Leontius*, after their error and impiety was introduced into their publick Offices and Ministrations, and was put up to God in *Derogatory Doxologys*. In which Union of Assemblies, these *Orthodox* were Headed and lead on by *Flavian* and *Diodorus*, that admirable Pair of best Men, as they are styled by *Theodorit* speaking of this business, and who first brought in the *Doxology at the end of the Psalms*, which continues still to be used at the reading thereof, in our days. But who, whilst they shew'd Concurrence with the *Arians* in all the good parts of their Office, thought fit to shew their standing off from them in their Corrupt and Derogatory Doxologys, as oft as they came in the course of the publick service. For when, \* at the end of the Hymns, the *Arians Sung, Glory be to the Father, in the Son*, or, as others, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, aiming by this change of particle, to intimate dissimilitude and inferiority: The *Orthodox Sung, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*, by that particle of *Conjunction*, making the three Persons all alike in Receipt of this Glory, or expressing their equality.

\* Ch. 4.  
Part. 3.  
\* Tit. 3.  
10.

\* Theod.  
Hist. Ec-  
clesi. l. 2.  
c. 24. Soz.  
l. 3. c. 20.  
& Ni-  
ceph. l. 9.  
c. 24.

But whatever compliances may be made thus for a time; yet, as the sinful mixtures grow more fixed, and the iniquity is more open and barefaced; when it greatly and evidently pollutes Devotions, and corrupts mens Principles and Practices, and is carryed on by all arts and endeavours to intrap and catch Souls: there is more apparent necessity to stand off from them. And then, they are bound, I conceive, and as I think, I have shewn \*, to afford Gods faithful people, more safe, and salutary, and Christian Administrations: and the People, without any hindrance from the Precepts of Peace and Union, are to break off from the other, and to joyn therein. So that such unlawful matter in Prayers, especially still as it grows more apparent and heinous, and more firmly fixed therein, is enough to carry people off, notwithstanding their desires of Peace and Union, from any Assemblies, though they had not added Anti-Bishops to head their unlawful mixtures, or made an open Schism in the Church.

\* Part. 1.

As to this mixture of immoral prayers then, with such a service as is wanting in nothing else, but has all that is necessary in worship, if these additions might be let alone: The desire of keeping Peace and Union in Assemblies or Churches, whatever it may do for a while, or in some cases, will not always get over them. And if once the makers of immoral additions,

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tions, do moreover set up Anti-Bishops, and make a Schism for maintenance thereof; Unity is no longer in Duty to be kept, but broke with them; so that the desire of Unity, will be no Reason to bear therewith, but to do quite contrary, after that time.

But there is besides another, and a stronger ground of bearing, viz. The Necessity of having some Ministerial Offices, and Publick Devotion, when they live under a want of better opportunities, & must take up, either with these or none. And this, as it will excuse the Faultiness of Meeting with those who are in a Schism: So, I conceive, \* will excuse men too, in bearing with these corrupt matters and immoral Additions, whilst they can be allowed sufficiently to signify, and express their Dissent from them.

\* See  
Dr Ham-  
mond's  
Practic.  
Cat. l. 2.  
Sect 1.  
on the  
Beatitude  
of Meek-  
ness.

\* Theod.  
l. 2. c. 12.  
Soz. l. 3.  
c. 20.  
Niceph.  
l. 9. c. 24.

They come then, 'tis true, and, (as the forementioned *Orthodox Christi-ans* did at *Antioch*, under the *Derogatoriness* of the *Arian Doxologies*) for the sake of many Good Prayers, submit to be present at others, whereby they will see Gods Worship prophaned, and hear his sacred Name dishonoured and Libelled, which is, and ought to be, a grievous Mortification to every Pious mind. But they submit to be present at all this, in the way of a Necessary Duty, viz. attending on some Ministerial Offices. And in want of all opportunities, of having those more Pure in any other Places: as was also the case of those *Orthodox* at *Antioch*, where \* *Constantius* had refused to allow them so much as one Church. And meeting it that way, though they may see and hear it, they are only aggrieved and wounded, but not polluted thereby. As *Servants*, or any others, are not polluted by hearing Gods Name Blasphemed, or seeing other wickednesses committed, which they are like to meet in the necessary duty and discharge of their attendance or stations: who are not guilty of the evil, that is uttered or acted, especially if they are allowed to shew dislike, and to be Reprovers of it. So that when others are Guilty, by concurring in these immoral Petitions; he contracts no guilt, by being present at them much against his will, and in the necessary and due payment of some publick Devotion, which he has no opportunities of paying any where else, so long as he apparently singles out the Good, and lets all the Bad alone.

Nor is his mere presence at these additional immoral Prayers, an interpretative Profession of his concurrence in them. 'Tis too rigorous, I think, to make coming to any Religious Assemblies, a profession of concurring in every particular, which, in any part of the ministration, is professed, or put up to God there. Men are liable to have various apprehensions, about some passages or other, that may happen to be in the publick Service, whether in the Professions which are made to God, or in the Prayers which are put up to him. And also about some Undertakings, Events, or Transactions of this World, which may be brought, as occasion is, into the common Service and Devotion, though all are not of one mind or belief about them. And under this liableness, to such variety of apprehen-

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sions about these matters, we could never be able to keep up publick Communion, especially to keep it up so *fixt* and *constant*, and to keep all persons in one Communion, as our Lord requires they should be kept, upon these terms. And they are more liable still, to have the same variety of apprehension, about *Private Compofures in Pulpit-Prayers*; which may be more Subject to the Tincture, either of some particular opinions, or expressions, which all cannot Assent to, or approve of. Considering which, it would be harder still to keep up such Communion, under the Allowance of these Pulpit-Prayers of Private Compofure; which yet, besides what they have been formerly, or are at this time in other places, are now allow'd of by our own Church.

In publick *Fasts*, indeed, or *Thanksgivings*, where the very Meeting or Assembling is made significant of any purposes; to be present at them, is a profession of what is signified by them. And it is insincere for those, who abhor that Design, which they are appointed to carry on, to afford their presence, or meet at them. But I think it is not so, with any particular passages and petitions, in the ordinary Devotion at other times; and that coming to Church Assemblies at such times, which are for Devotion at large, is no determinate and limited profession of concurrence in those passages, from which, though a man would profess to dissent, yet might he still resort to the Assemblies for so many other purposes. And of this difference betwixt these *Two*, as to *their being a profession of concurrence*, they who list, may see more in a \* Book intituled, *Of Christian Prudence*.

\* Ch. 6.  
Sect. 1,

'Tis true, it will give some presumption of concurrence in these Petitions, if they visibly manifest no dislike; but, whatever they are in their Hearts, appear externally to joyn in them, as much as they do in others. And therefore, I conceive, it were not amiss, as they come in the course of the Service, by some external sign, to shew they disclaim, and stand off from them. As I noted the Orthodox did, whilst (in the beginnings, and, as was hoped, more sanable Age of the *Arian Heresie*, before they broke communion quite off) they met in the *Arian Assemblies under Leontius at Antioch*. But there is no room, or pretence for such presumption of concurrence, (and they would be strange presumptions, that should be made in contradiction to express Declarations) if we signifie the contrary by some external sign. For none must presume, or we are not answerable for it if they do, that we joyn in such passages, if by some external sign we protest to all that we stand off from them; whilst, by like visible signs, we shew concurrence in all those good Prayers, which are put up together with them.

I grant, the Communion of Prayers, should be an intire Communion; and no Petitions of publick Assemblies, should be the private desire of some, but the joynt desire of all in common. And where any thing is inserted,

serted, which all cannot joyn in, it makes a broken Communion. But there, the inserters thereof make this breach; and others, who are driven by Necessity to bear the same, only suffer it as their misfortune. And when they can have no other, which they would embrace, though with persecutions; yea, and it may be are illiterate, and unable by Reading, to carry on the Worship of God, and the work of instruction, in their own Families: It is better, I think, to take up with a broken Communion than with none. And though their wishes are to have one more intire, yet till they can have their wish, I conceive, their way will be to communicate in most Prayers, rather than in none at all.

Whilst they are careful then, by some sufficient external sign, to shew their standing off from these additional immoral passages; the necessity of having some ministerial Offices and Devotions, will bear them out, I conceive, when they can have no better, in resorting to such mixt Service, for concurrence in the body of other good Prayers. But all this, as I say, is whilst such visible signification and refusal of the sinful matters, will be allow'd of. For if all, either in reality must, or in external shew and appearance must seem to concur therein: They ought not to be guilty, either of Iniquity, or Hypocrisie; and so, upon that account, are utterly barr'd and shut out from such Communion.

And thus much, as it is greatly needed, so I have adventured to say on this Point, concerning that liberty and allowance, which, in compliance with the love of Peace, and the necessity of some Ministerial Offices, may, as I conceive, be made in *abatement of the strict Rules against Communion with Schismatics*. I know all the use some are apt to make of such Concessions, is, instead of making them Relieve others, only to turn them against the Authors, and taking hold of them as Principles, to try if thereby they can overthrow the main Cause. I think this is very dis-ingenuous; and a wrong way of Reasoning too. For it is beginning at the wrong end in these matters. These Concessions, are not set up for main Principles, much less as points to be held against them; but as points of favour and ease, that may be thought fairly and equitably consistent with them. Which, should it happen otherwise, the Principles must stand firm, (unless they can be overthrown by Arguments intrinsic, and proper to themselves;) and all that can be said as to these Concessions of Ease, is, that there is an end of them. So, by that course, men do not so much oppose the Established Principles, as themselves; and what they show is, that, in consistence with Truth of Principles, no Concessions can be made; and that the Truth will not permit them to make such Approaches, or to come so near to them, as they fain would do. But these liberties in the present case, seem to me fairly Reconcilable, on the grounds here given, with the Reason and Reality of things; and with the intent of the foresaid Principles: And every man is left to judge for himself, whether they are or no.

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And thus, I think, it may appear, both how careful we ought to be, in shunning the Communion of Anti-Bishops, & their Schismatical Adherents, where we have other opportunities: And how, for the benefit of some Ministerial Offices, we may be at liberty to take up with them, when we can have the same from none else. Yea, for all they happen at any time to have made an addition of immoral mixtures, to a body of otherwise good, and sufficient Prayers, if we openly and sufficiently express our dislike and standing off from them, whilst we as openly concur, and joyn in others. And as it was before shewn, who make the Schism in any Divisions of Churches, and who can cure it in the foresaid Cases: So, having found who are to answer for the Schism, this may suffice to shew what Communion may be held with such, and how good Christians are to carry it towards both parties.

As to that exercise of spiritual ministrations then, which Faithful Pastors stand so many ways obliged to, notwithstanding any Deprivation of State, yea, or of Synods, as I have shewn: The Care of Preserving Unity, or preventing Schism in the Church, ought to be no stop thereto in the foresaid Cases. Nay, if to Head their immoral Prayers, Doctrines, and Practices, the defectors shall set up Anti-Bishops, and so make a Schism in the Church: The Conscionable care of preserving unity, will bind them fast to such Faithful Ministers, who are their Rightful Pastors. And the Conscionable and truly Christian dread of Schism, will make them effectually keep off from the Communion of those defectors, who, by Erection of Anti-Bishops, have set up, Altar against Altar, and Schismatically broke off from them.

And thus I have gone through those particulars, which I thought fittest to be consider'd, and of most force to clear up this Argument. And from what has been offer'd in these papers, I think it will not be difficult for honest inquirers, to see what their duty is, under any unhappy differences or divisions of Churches, at such times. I pray God neither the desire of Thriving, nor the fear of Suffering, may make men afraid to see it, or to follow what they see they ought to do, when they are tryed with such Cases.

It extremely concerns all men, who would shew any serious care of their immortal Souls at such times, to discern the right way, and to take it in these matters. 'Tis not for any to think lightly of these points of difference: For 'tis hard to say what things would concern their Eternal Salvation more, or wherein to go wrong would be of more Fatal Consequence. If any things will lye hard upon us at the great day of accounts, sure the breach of Faith, and of the most Solemn Oaths, of Civil Subjection and Obedience, and of Common Honesty and Justice, will sting and terrify us to the height, and be a burden unsupportable. Such wickednesses will sink Heathens; how much more



Christians, who Act them against so much plainer Revelations and Spiritual advantages. They are any of them enough to condemn those, who at any time have been guilty of them, unless they truly repent and amend them. How much more must all of them, everlastingly confound those who always live in them, and dayly repeat the same; whose hearts, have resisted all Reproofs, and Convictions; whose consciences, are thereby harden'd therein, and grown callous; and who, not content to provoke God thereby in their dayly practice, have horribly presumed as dayly to prophane him at such times, by a Blasphemous tender thereof in their dayly devotions.

Nor is it safe, on pretence of any subtilties started about these points, by irreligious and ill employ'd wits on such occasions, to hope for finding an excuse, by pleading mistake or *Ignorance*, should those subtle Salvo's prove False. For whatever it may with some persons, whose sincere care, as well as desire, to see and follow the right, is best known to God himself: Yet in the general, I must remind them, that 'tis ill trusting to Ignorance, in such plain matters of Natural Conscience, as men cannot ordinarily mistake or be ignorant of, till they have blinded themselves. It needs no skill, nor learning, to see the wickedness of all these ways. And accordingly, when they are first tryed with them, the consciences of most persons, who can pretend to sobriety and justice, and are not debauch'd with Corrupt principles, are startled at them, and in their first judgements, when they judge of themselves, and from Natural Sentiments and Convictions, they scruple and condemn them. But it needs much learning, or pains, to blind our own eyes, and overcome our Natural Convictions, & see no wickedness in them. And if Men of Parts, should set their Parts and Learning as much to work, (which God avert) to baffle Mens common Convictions of any other Wickednesses and Immoralities; I do believe, they would give the Disobedient as much pretence for Mistake and Ignorance in those Offences, as, after all their pains, they are able to alledge in these.

The *Zeal against Popery*, is given out often in these latter days of the World, to go furthest in blinding many. But though *Popery*, on account of the many dangerous Errors and unlawful Practices thereof, is a most dangerous Religion; yet must they be a strange sort of Religious Persons, who can think nothing but *Popery* will endanger them. Whatever be the Religion, of false, and for-sworn Men, of Rebels, Thieves, and Murderers; their Religion shall do nothing to save them, but Perjury, and Rebellion, and Unrighteousness, will be sure, without true Repentance, to condemn them. So that if they are afraid of *Popery*, because of its sinfulness, and of the dangers it brings upon their precious souls; they must not be less afraid of gross Injustice and immoralities, which are not less sinful, and are more surely de-

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destructive, than it is, having less *Favor* and *Plea of Ignorance* and *Mistake*, for well-meaning minds to offer for their excuse. And I beg all such, as are in earnest for the Salvation of their Souls, to consider, that it is as wretched a part, both of Folly and Wickedness, to throw away their Souls, in any immoral or otherwise unlawful ways, to keep out Popery; as it would be, to throw them away in turning to it.

There is also the consideration of Schism in these Matters. And how light soever too many, God knows, may make of it, yet, in the account of God, it is full of Guilt; and in the lamentable experience of the World, it is fruitful in other Wickednesses, and abounds in Mischief. It rends Unity, which Christ, among his last Requests to his Father, was so earnestly concerned to have kept up in his Church. It breaks Peace, and, like a Canker, eats out the heart of Charity, which ought to be the very Badge of his Disciples. It turns Devotion, into Contentiousness; and Humility and the Love of our Brethren, into Pride and Self-pleasing, and a studiousness by all ways to maintain what we have once done ill, and bear up our own Reputation; into bitter Zeal, and angry Passions, and a deplorable train of other Wickednesses. And therefore if all the Guilt of Schism supervenes, to that of the foresaid immoralities in any Case, how broad is the Net spread there for destruction? How many there, are like to be drawn into the snare, and how loud will the Blood of those Souls cry, who are caught therein?

Methinks, this must needs be enough, to shew Men the infinite Weight and Consequence of these Debates, and to cure all indifference, and unconcernedness about them, on such occasions. If they are careless what becomes of their Souls, and care only or chiefly for worldly interests; all these things, indeed, will easily be slighted and over-look'd, when they oppose the Clamours of Flesh and Blood. But Men, who would-pretend Religion, or secure their Eternal Happiness in the world to come, must needs see how deeply, and closely these Matters affect it, and how infinitely it concerns them, not to go wrong, or to be mistaken therein. And 'tis only to Men so disposed, that Discourses of this Nature are like to do any good. To such therefore this is tendered with a sincere and charitable intent, of ministering to give them right Notions and Apprehensions of these Matters, and of serving them in the way of their everlasting Concerns. I humbly request of them, for their own sakes, that they would fully resolve to set up God, and not this World, in these Matters. And if they will seek Truth sincerely, and consider and examine what they read impartially; then let them judge of all, and apply what is here said, for the determination of their own minds, and for making such Judgment of Practices on such unhappy Differences, as they see Cause.

# ERRATA.

The principal places which the Reader is desired to Amend, are these:

Part 1. page 2. line 7. put a , after excellency. p. 3. l. 18. r. *united to the Anti-Bishops*.  
p. 4. l. 16. put a : after persons. p. 26. l. 14. r. *circumstantiate, which give*. p. 29. l. 5.  
r. *irruption*. p. 51. l. 29. r. *but to put*. p. 55. l. 32. & ib. l. 33. & p. 56. l. 7. for cessation  
r. *Cession*.

Part 2. p. 9. l. 2 marg. after Can. 1. add, & Can. 36. p. 16. l. 7. at Ecclesiasticks, in  
marg. add † *Art*. 25. 10, 11. p. 20. l. 15. r. *affect*. p. 36. l. 33. r. *that they are*. p. 37. l. 3  
r. *discharges*.

Part 3. p. 8. l. 21. r. *breaking it into*. p. 37. l. 36. r. *true there*. p. 46. l. 28. marg. r.  
*in Eph*. p. 51. l. 7. r. *Diocesses*. ib. l. ult. marg. for 37. r. 17. p. 58. l. 19. marg. for ch. p.  
r. *cb*. 6. p. 64. l. ult. r. *with him*. p. 83. at the bottom, for 265. r. 365. from p. 84. is  
paged wrong to p. 93. p. 78. (should be 86.) l. 1. r. *Euaristus*. p. 83. (should be 91.  
l. 25. r. *we may do*. p. 84. (should be 92.) l. 4. r. *not tye the*.

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p. 29. l. 5  
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